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His Life and Reign

By

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MEMOIRS OF KING GEORGE III.

CHAPTER I.

Returns of the King's Mental Derangement — He Attributes Them to Pitt's Agitation of the Catholic Relief Bill — Conduct of the Prince of Wales and the Duke of York during His Illness — His Interviews with Them — Pitt's Resumption of the Premiership Suggested — Addington Disinclined to Retire — The King's Offer of £30,000 toward the Payment of Pitt's Debts — Their Farewell Interview — The New Ministry — Description of a Privy Council.

As was usually the case with George the Third in times of great excitement, distress of mind induced disease of the body. On Friday, the 13th of February, which happened to be a fast day, the king, on his return from attending divine service, complained of suffering from excessive chilliness, which was followed by an attack of cramp that affected his whole body. The next morning, however, if we may judge from the following note, he was better:

The King to Mr. Addington.

(Extract.)

"QUEEN'S HOUSE, Feb. 14, 1801,

"3 minutes past 10 A. M.

"This is to acquaint Mr. Addington that the severity of the weather has engaged us all to remain in town; therefore, if there is anything required of me, he will know where to send.

"This is the anniversary of the Earl of St. Vincent's victory. I should think it would flatter him much if Mr. Addington would desire him to call on me. Any hour this forenoon will be perfectly convenient, as I shall not stir from home."[1]

On Sunday, the 15th, when Addington called at Buckingham House, he found the king suffering from so severe a cold as scarcely to be able to speak. The following day, however, he again seems to have been better.

The King to Mr. Addington.

"QUEEN'S HOUSE, Feb. 16, 1801.

"The real care I am taking — for I have not been down-stairs this day — with James's powder,

[1] There is in the Auckland Correspondence a letter from Lord Auckland, dated the 14th, in which the "excellent king" is represented as in a high state of fever, and "seriously and alarmingly indisposed." This, however, is clearly an error of date, which ought in all probability to be the 24th.

which Doctor Gisborne advised, certainly is removing my cold. If not inconvenient to Mr. Addington, I shall be very desirous of seeing him at twelve to-morrow; and though he may have much to communicate, I shall not be without information for him, which I think will give him confidence and pleasure. GEORGE R."

Although the king's disorder was not apparently of an alarming character, it nevertheless contained the seeds of the same terrible malady which prostrated him mentally and bodily in the winter of 1788 and 1789. As yet, however, the more painful features of his complaint had not developed themselves. When Addington, for instance, was admitted to his presence, on Tuesday, the 17th, although the king — whom he found seated in his easy chair, and wrapped in a black velvet dressing-gown — was still much indisposed, and although his manner was somewhat more hurried, and his countenance rather more flushed than usual, yet no suspicion seems to have crossed the minister's mind that he was otherwise affected than by a violent cold. In like manner, when Lord Radnor visited him the same evening, and the Duke of Portland on the following day, neither of those noblemen seem to have left him with the conviction that there was any great occasion for alarm. He spoke, indeed, according to the duke, in a louder tone of voice than usual, but "most sensi-

bly and judiciously" on every subject. "He was an old Whig," he told the duke; adding that he "considered those statesmen who made barrier-treaties, and conducted the last ten years of the Succession war, the most able ones we ever had."[1]

Not only did the king's bodily health, during the next few days, continue to improve, but by Friday, the 20th of February, it had to all appearance been completely reëstablished. On that day, he was not only well enough to attend a meeting of the Privy Council, at which Addington incidentally mentions that he behaved "with great dignity and calmness," but he afterward went through the fatigue of a two hours' conference with Lord Eldon, and in the evening played two hours at cards with Mr. John Villiers, afterward Earl of Clarendon. Yet, if we may judge by the tone of the king's private conversation at this time, he himself would seem to have harboured a melancholy suspicion of the truth. "He talked to his lordship" [Lord Eldon], writes George Rose, "of his last malady, stating many particulars that occurred to him during the continuance of it, and especially dwelt on his feelings during some lucid intervals." The king also recalled to Lord Eldon's memory certain questions which his lordship, as a member of the Privy Council, had asked his physi-

[1] The "War of Succession," celebrated by the great victories of Marlborough, commenced in 1702, and was terminated by the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713.

cians. To Addington also he had admitted, on the preceding day, that his nervous system was impaired. "My bodily health," he said, "is reasonably good. I have, I trust, good common sense, and, I believe, a good heart; but my nerves are weak. I am sensible of that. Your father [1] said, twelve years ago, that quiet was what I wanted, and that I must have." "As to my cold," said the king to Lord Chatham, on the 20th, "it is well; but what else I have I owe to your brother." Nevertheless, Lord Eldon, on that day, not only found him as rational and collected as he had ever known him, but, as he told Lord Colchester, he had never "heard truer wisdom upon any subject, than from the king in that audience." Referring to Lord Eldon having it in contemplation at once to resign the chief-justiceship of the Common Pleas, in order to facilitate Addington's ministerial arrangements, "Stay, my lord," said the king to him, "till you have the seals, before you part with your chief-justiceship."

It may be mentioned that, in consequence of the king complaining much of want of sleep, he was persuaded by Addington to use a pillow filled with hops, an incident only so far worth recording that, in conjunction with the fact of the minister's father

[1] The eminent physician, Anthony Addington, M. D., the medical adviser as well as the personal friend of the great Lord Chatham. He died on the 21st March, 1790, having lived to see his son elected Speaker of the House of Commons.

having been a physician, it obtained for him his celebrated nickname of "the doctor."

It was on Friday, the 20th, that the king's "affectionate and affecting way of talking" first led Addington to suspect the real nature of his disorder; and accordingly he was not altogether taken by surprise when, on the following day, the sad intelligence was conveyed to him that the king was in a high fever, and that the services of the younger Doctor Willis were imperatively required.[1] Distressing, however, as was this account, the king was well enough to receive his minister on the following day, when, according to Addington's report to Mr. Pitt, he found his Majesty's mind "much deranged on some subjects," but "apparently collected in others." The great share which distress of mind and anxiety had had in causing the king's malady, was manifested by the language which escaped him in his delirium. "I am better now," he exclaimed, on one occasion, "but I will remain true to the Church." "The physicians," writes Lord Malmesbury, "do not scruple to say that, although his Majesty certainly had a bad cold, and would under all circumstances have been ill, yet that the hurry and vexation of all that has passed was the cause of his mental illness."[2]

[1] The Rev. Doctor Willis, the elder, was not summoned to attend the king till the 25th.

[2] Such also was the opinion of the physicians who were subsequently examined before a committee of the House of Commons

Whatever may have been the king's condition in the interval between Sunday, the 22d of February, and Monday, the 2d of March, certain it is that, on the afternoon of the last-named day, he had become so much worse, as to induce the physicians to suggest that the royal family should be prepared to expect the worst that might happen. Happily, however, during the ensuing night the king was blessed with several hours of refreshing sleep, the result of which was, that when he awoke the following morning it was with his fever greatly abated, and with his pulse reduced from the rate of a hundred and thirty-six to eighty-four strokes to the minute. He was afraid, he said, that he had been indisposed for a considerable time, and on being told that eight days had elapsed since he had been taken ill, he made no other remark than that he felt himself much better. Finding himself in a strange bed, he inquired to whose apartment he had been removed, and on being informed that it was the Princess Mary's, expressed his regret at having been the cause of her being disturbed. The first order which he issued was for the royal physicians to attend him, in order that they might satisfy themselves how excellent a night he had

in 1810; namely, that the king's previous insanity in 1801 was occasioned by the excitement consequent on Mr. Pitt's resignation. This part of their evidence, however, it would appear, was expunged before the report of the committee was laid upon the table of the House.

passed. The news of the favourable turn which the king's disorder had taken was no sooner made known to the public than, as Lord Malmesbury informs us, Buckingham House was surrounded by a loyal crowd, who manifested the utmost joy at the convalescence of their beloved sovereign.

The reader, who may remember what the conduct of the Prince of Wales had been during his father's former alarming illness, would doubtless be pleased to be told that the twelve years, which had since elapsed, had wrought some improvement, if not in his sensibility, at least in his good taste. It is to be feared, however, that this was not the case. For instance, at the time when the king's malady was nearly at its worst, we find the prince — instead of decently passing his time in comparative seclusion — apparently exhibiting himself more frequently than ever in scenes of diversion and public resort. On the 22d of February, Lord Malmesbury speaks of dancing and singing going on at this time at Carlton House, and on the evening of that day, Sunday, the prince was certainly present at a concert given by the celebrated Lady Hamilton. "*Savez-vous, Monsieur de Calonne,*" he is said to have asked of the French ex-minister, "*que mon père est aussi fou que jamais?*" "The prince," writes Lady Harcourt, "had been visiting Lady Hamilton, when, meeting M. de Calonne, who asked him how the king did, he answered, '*Plus fou que*

jamais.'" Moreover, as on the occasion of the king's former mental malady, the prince, in spite of all evidence which reached him to the contrary, seems to have been one of the last persons to admit the fact of his father's convalescence. Even so late as the 4th of March, when all was congratulation under the king's roof, he told Lord Darnley that, whatever the state of his father's bodily health might be, his mind was "completely deranged," "most unfeeling language, if true," writes Lord Malmesbury, "but it is not." In politics, also, we find him taking so extreme a part against his father's government, as to celebrate, on the 12th of February, the conversion to ultra-Liberal principles of Lords Cowper and Darnley, by inviting them to dinner at Carlton House. "His language," writes Lord Malmesbury, "is such as would better become a member of the opposition than the heir to these kingdoms."

Fortunately for the king's peace of mind, he had the great satisfaction, on recovering his reason, of learning that, however indifferent had been the recent conduct of his heir, that of the Duke of York had been all that he could desire. The duke, happily, had no sooner weaned himself from the influence which his brilliant elder brother had long exercised over his mind, than he began to appreciate the virtues and to value the affection of his high-minded parent. "The Duke of York,"

writes Lord Malmesbury, on the 11th of February, "remains firm to the king, and is as discreet in his language, as proper in his conduct." Again his lordship writes, on the 26th : "Duke of York's behaviour incomparable. He is their great and only comfort and support at the Queen's House, and without his manly mind and advice, neither the queen nor the princesses would be able to bear up under their present distress." So assiduous, indeed, had been the duke in his attendance at the palace, and so sensibly had his feelings been affected by constantly witnessing the sufferings of the king, and the distress and anxiety of his mother and sisters, that by the end of the month he was almost worn out. When, on the 5th of March, Lord Malmesbury spoke to him of the pleasure which his conduct must afford the king, and how much it must have endeared him to the royal family, the duke, we are told, was "affected to the greatest degree," and with difficulty suppressed his tears.

In the meantime, although the king's continued and constant recurrence to the painful subject of Catholic emancipation occasioned some uneasiness to his physicians, his health continued gradually to improve. On the 6th he was well enough to entertain the Duke of Kent at breakfast, and in the course of the day was allowed to see the queen, with whom he played at picquet for half an hour. "Her Majesty," writes Dr. Thomas

Willis to Mr. Pitt, "and the Dukes of Kent and Cumberland, went in to the king at half after five o'clock, and remained with him for two hours. They came out perfectly satisfied; in short, everything that passed has confirmed all that you heard me say to-day. He has desired to see the Duke of York to-morrow, and all the princesses in their turn."

The interview between the king and his favourite son took place on the 7th, and appears to have been a very affecting one. He had decided, said the king, on seeing the Dukes of Kent and Cumberland on the preceding day, because he could send them away at any time; but, he added, "I wished to see you alone and for a long time, and therefore put it off till to-day." The duke found the king looking pale and ill, but perfectly calm in his manner, and rational in his conversation. One of the inquiries which he put to the duke was whether any resignations had taken place during his illness, and on being answered in the negative, he was evidently gratified. Willingly he would have turned the conversation to the two subjects nearest to his heart, Catholic emancipation and the resignation of Mr. Pitt, but the duke respectfully checked him. "Sir," he said, "since this point, which has given your Majesty so much uneasiness, is settled, it is better now to forget all that has passed." "You are right, quite right, Frederick," said the king; who now began to

make inquiries as to what had happened during his illness. Once more the duke protested against his agitating himself by conversing on exciting subjects, but on this occasion to little purpose. "Frederick," he said, "you are more nervous than I am; I really feel quite well, and I know full well how ill I have been." Among other questions which he put to the duke, he inquired how he had found the queen and princesses; at the same time thanking him for the affectionate care which he had taken of them during his illness, and observing that he feared they had suffered much uneasiness on his account. "They certainly did, Sir," replied the duke; "but the only uneasiness now remaining on their minds, and on all our minds, is lest your Majesty should, as you get well, not take sufficient care of yourself." The king seemed to be considerably affected by these words. "I will," he said; "you may depend upon it. I have, I fear, neglected this too much, and presumed a great deal more than I ought on my constitution. Be assured I will be more careful for the future." This day Wilberforce inserts in his diary, "The king gradually getting better; very calm and resigned, on religious grounds." Addington, also, who had an interview with the king on the 11th, found him as calm in his mind, and as fit to conduct business, as at any time before his illness. Of the touching affection, which not only his own family, but his subjects

generally, had manifested for him in the season of his affliction, he discoursed with great sensibility.

The Duke of York to the Bishop of Worcester.

"HORSE GUARDS, March 9, 1801.

"MY DEAR LORD BISHOP: — I have received his Majesty's command to express to your lordship his thanks for your letter of the 16th of last month, — which from his Majesty's indisposition could not be delivered to him till the day before yesterday, — as well as the satisfaction it gave him to find that your lordship's sentiments coincided so completely with his own upon the question of the emancipation of the Catholics.

"Knowing your lordship's devoted attachment to his Majesty, I am convinced of the joy it will give your lordship to hear of his Majesty being so nearly recovered that I trust a very few days will restore him to perfect health.

"It gives me great satisfaction to have this opportunity of assuring your lordship of the regard and esteem with which I am,

"My dear lord bishop, yours most sincerely,

"FREDERICK.

"*The Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of Worcester, Hartlebury Castle, Worcester.*"

On Wednesday, the 11th of March, the king admitted the Prince of Wales to an interview; Dr. Thomas Willis, apparently for precautionary

reasons, remaining in the apartment during the whole time of the prince's stay. The king, as the prince told his friend "Jack" Payne, now Admiral Payne, had grown thinner; his complexion had lost much of its ruddiness; his eyes were a good deal affected. The king, in the course of conversation, happening to express his gratification at the number of persons of all political parties who had written down their names at the palace during his illness, "Yes," said the prince, "he believed everybody had been to the Queen's House who could either go or be carried." Sheridan, said the king, had called, but Fox had neglected to pay him that compliment; adding, in especial allusion to the conduct of the former on the occasion of Hadfield's attack on his person in Drury Lane Theatre, that he believed that Sheridan had at heart a real regard for him.[1] Unhappily, in the king's present nervous state, the mere recollection of his providential escape on that occasion threw him into a state of great emotion. "There was," he exclaimed, in an agitated tone, "a Providence or a good God above, who had and would protect him." In other respects the king was quite com-

[1] It subsequently appeared that Fox had called at the palace this same evening, though not till after the hour on which it was usual to lay the visiting-book before the king. For instance, when Doctor Willis chanced to glance his eye over the list, he found Mr. Fox's name the very last upon it, "he having been at the Queen's House on the 11th instant, between six and seven o'clock in the evening."

posed during the interview, as was also the case when he granted Lord Eldon an audience in the course of the day. To the chancellor, on this occasion, he spoke, as he had previously done to Addington, in feeling terms of the loyalty and affection for his person which had been displayed by his subjects during the season of his prostration. He trusted, he said, that God would prolong his life, in order that he might afford proof to his people how deeply grateful he was for their attachment.

In the meantime, while Addington was employed in making his ministerial arrangements, the completion of which had been interrupted by the king's illness, an alteration had been occasioned in Mr. Pitt's views and position, which seemed to render it not improbable that he would be invited to resume the reins of power. One of the first questions, it seems, which the king, on recovering his reason, had put to Doctor Willis, was whether Mr. Pitt had been much affected by the sufferings which he had undergone. "Tell him," said the king, "that I am now quite well — quite recovered from my illness; but what has he not to answer for who is the cause of my having been ill at all?" Pitt, on receiving this communication from Doctor Willis, is described by Lord Colchester as having been "struck extremely," and by Lord Malmesbury as having been "deeply affected." With scarcely a moment's hesitation, he appears to

have made up his mind how he ought to act. He was determined, he said, never again to intrude upon the king a question fraught with such afflicting consequences; at the same time inquiring of Willis whether a formal assurance from him to that effect might not materially conduce to the restoration of his Majesty's health. "Certainly," replied Willis; "and to the recovery of his life also." Under these circumstances, Pitt not only authorised Willis to assure the king that, whether in or out of office, he would never again, during his Majesty's reign, agitate the question of Catholic emancipation, but he is also said to have addressed to him a "most dutiful, humble, and contrite" letter, in which he gave a similar guarantee in writing. At all events, Pitt's mere verbal assurance seems to have been quite sufficient to satisfy the king. "I told him," writes Doctor Willis to Pitt, "what you wished; and, after saying the kindest things of you, he exclaimed, 'Now my mind will be at ease.' Upon the queen's coming in, the first thing he told her was your message, and he made the same observation upon it."

It was under these circumstances that Pitt's friends pointed out to him, and that Pitt himself felt, that he was now released from his engagements with the Roman Catholic party, and consequently that, provided Addington could be prevailed upon to waive his claims to the premiership, and the king should be willing to take back his late minis-

ter, there would exist no material obstacle to his resuming the reins of power. Pitt, in consequence of the new ministerial appointments not having been yet completed and gazetted, was still virtually prime minister. Moreover, Addington, as we have seen, had not only accepted office unwillingly, but had expressed his readiness to make room for his friend whenever such might be the wish of their sovereign. As for Pitt, he had personally every reason for desiring to return to power. It would have put him right in the opinion of the public, who, ignorant of the true grounds of his resignation, blamed him for deserting the helm when the ship was in peril. His private affairs were in a most embarrassed state, and consequently the emoluments of office were of no trifling importance to him. Lastly, the direction of public affairs had, for so many years, been his vocation, that business had become almost necessary to his existence. But far weightier were the reasons which the community had for demanding Mr. Pitt's reinstatement in office. Above all things it was desirable, in the present threatening state of public affairs, that England's ablest pilot should be placed at the helm of government, and few persons were likely to maintain that Henry Addington was that man. So little confidence, indeed, had his fellow countrymen in his judgment and abilities, that not only, in both Houses of Parliament, had the announcement of his appoint-

ment to the premiership been received "with great derision and even slight," but we find Pitt himself exacting a promise from his young and ardent friend, George Canning, not to laugh at the Speaker's appointment. At all events, as regarded eloquence, administrative ability, and official experience, no comparison whatever could possibly exist between Pitt and Addington. In the words of Canning's well-known couplet:

> "Pitt was to Addington
> As London is to Paddington."

Thus, in the opinion of George Rose, and probably of every other friend of Pitt, Addington, instead of accepting, and much less clinging to the high post which had been thrust upon him, should at once have pointed out to his sovereign the utter hopelessness of his being able to carry on the government, and implored him, as the only means of averting the calamities which threatened the country, to exert his royal influence to induce Mr. Pitt to remain in power. Of the same opinion was Canning. Had the Speaker, he insisted, done what he ought to have done, he would have voluntarily sought the king, and said to him: "Now that the Catholic question is asleep and forgotten, I am ready to resign my office to Mr. Pitt."

Addington, however, viewed the question in a very different light. Not only, as has been already suggested, was he impressed with a tolerably good

opinion of his own merits, but his native self-confidence would seem to have been constantly kept on the stretch by the encouraging assurances of his near family connections, the Bonds, the Bragges, and Hiley Addingtons, by whom their kinsman's elevation to the premiership was, not unnaturally, regarded as presenting golden opportunities which ought on no account to be neglected.

> "When the faltering periods lag,
> Or his yawning audience flag,
> When his speeches hobble vilely,
> Or the House receives them drily,[1]
> Cheer, O cheer him, brother Bragge,
> Cheer, O cheer him, brother Hiley.
> Brother Bragge, and brother Hiley!
> Cheer him when he speaks so vilely,
> Cheer him when his audience flag,
> Brother Hiley, brother Bragge!"
>
> — *Canning, Ode to The Doctor.*

Accordingly, when some of Addington's less interested friends suggested to him that now was the time for him to display his patriotism, by inducing the king to permit him to resign the

[1] Alluding, it is perhaps needless to remark, to Addington's sluggish mode of speaking in the House of Commons. According to a writer in the *Quarterly Review*, "We heard very lately (1847), from one of the company still happily surviving, that about this time Pitt, who was expected to a dinner-party, did not come in till the second course, begging pardon for being so late, as he was obliged to hear Addington out; 'and the doctor, you know, travels with his own horse.'"

premiership in favour of his illustrious friend, his answer was such as might be expected from a man who was not without ambition, who enjoyed the favour and confidence of his sovereign, and who had been afforded time to look about him and to grow warm in the possession of power. It had been owing to no fault of his own, he said, that he had been removed from his former dignified and lucrative employment, neither was it by his own wish that he had been promoted to his present high post, a post for which he had expressed no desire. With regard, however, he added, to "opening the matter" to the king, he should certainly not be the person to take the initiative. Those who thought proper to advise him to take that step might do so if they pleased, but he would venture to suggest that it would be as well to ascertain, in the first instance, the opinion of the royal physicians "as to the effect which such a proposition might have upon his Majesty's present state of health." This language, on its being repeated to Pitt, at once decided his line of conduct. Willingly as he would have remained in his old quarters in Downing Street, he had all along declared that, unless at "the king's earnest wish, and also at Mr. Addington's earnest wish," he would sanction no attempts to reinstate the administration of which he had been the head; and accordingly he now intimated to his partisans, not only that he was of opinion that any further

agitation of the question would be exceedingly improper, but that he should no longer consider that person as his friend who withheld his support from the new ministry. Doubtless, a single word from the king at this time would have induced Addington to resign in favour of his friend and benefactor, but that word was never spoken. Very possibly the king may have overestimated the disinterestedness of Addington's conduct in having accepted the premiership, and he may therefore have shrunk from being a party to his removal from a post which his own urgent solicitations had prevailed upon him to fill. At all events, Pitt's unqualified promise to extend his full countenance and support to the new administration evidently rendered the necessary changes in the Cabinet far less disagreeable to the king than they might otherwise have been. Thus, at the first levee which he held at St. James's Palace after his recovery, we find him drawing his present and his ex-minister into a recess under one of the windows, and observing to them, emphatically, "If we three do but keep together, all will do well."

In the meantime, ever since the king had been prostrated by the intelligence that Pitt intended to introduce a Roman Catholic bill into Parliament, he had declined seeing his late minister in private, and consequently, of late, all communication between them had taken place in writing. "I thought," said the king to General Harcourt,

"we should both perhaps say something we should be sorry for. We might both be warm in argument, and therefore I thought it much better that we should put our thoughts on paper, and I sent for the Speaker as the friend of both." The time, however, had now arrived, when it was necessary that a parting interview should take place between them, in order to enable Pitt to deliver up the seals of office to his sovereign. The day which was to bring to a temporary close their long and cordial political partnership, was anticipated with painful feelings on both sides. By those who loved the king, it was feared that the agitation into which he was likely to be thrown might cause a return of his mental disorder; while, on the other hand, the friends of Mr. Pitt mention him, at this time, as being so "unwell, so much shaken, gouty, and nervous," as apparently to be almost as unequal to the excitement of the appointed interview as the king himself. How feelingly the great statesman had taken to heart the fact of his having been the principal, if not the sole occasion of the king's sufferings, there seems to be ample evidence to prove. Lord Malmesbury, for instance, after an allusion in his diary to Lord Spencer having felt "very much hurt at what had passed, and feeling a great deal for the share he has had in it," observes emphatically that Pitt, "though too haughty to confess it, feels also a great deal." Again, during a three hours' conversation which took place between Pitt

and George Rose on the 18th of February, we find the latter much impressed by the "painful workings" which were "plainly discernible" in his friend's mind; "most of the time tears in his eyes and much agitated." Lastly, on the 27th, on the occasion of Pitt addressing the House of Commons on the subject of the king's malady, his friend Wilberforce mentions his having been "sincerely affected" in the course of his "extreme eloquence."

Fortunately, the dreaded interview passed off most satisfactorily to both parties. The king, indeed, was at first somewhat agitated, but he soon recovered his composure. His Majesty, as Mr. Pitt subsequently related to his friends, received him with "unbounded kindness." He hoped, he said, that though Mr. Pitt had ceased to be his minister, he would still allow him to consider him as his friend; that he would come to him whenever he wished it, and could do so with propriety; and that at all events he would pay him a visit at Weymouth in the summer. "He was sure," said Pitt to Rose, "the king would be greatly relieved by their interview being over and his resignation accepted;" adding that, "as for himself, his own mind was greatly relieved." When they parted it seems to have been with the kindest feelings of mutual regard and respect. Mr. Pitt's entire conduct, said the king both to Rose and to Lord Eldon, merited his warmest and most unqualified approbation; he possessed his highest

esteem and good opinion; his conduct, especially at the time of his quitting office, was beyond all comparison more honourable than that of any — laying a strong emphasis on the word any — of his predecessors. In like manner, Pitt did justice to the righteous intentions of his sovereign. Though the king's scruples, he observed to Addington, must necessarily be a matter of regret to him, he could not but revere him for his steadiness and conscientiousness.

Neither did the king, on this occasion, confine himself to mere verbal expressions of approval and personal regard. Pitt at this time, in consequence of his loss of official income, and the little attention which he had been in the habit of paying to the management of his domestic affairs, was threatened with great pecuniary embarrassment. At any moment an execution might be put into the small house to which he had retired in Park Place, St. James's. Any morning he might awake to find himself without a chair in his drawing-room, or a horse in his stables. The king had taken an opportunity of interrogating Lord Grenville on the subject, but that nobleman, ignorant, apparently, of the true state of his cousin's finances, intimated his belief that he laboured under no very considerable pecuniary difficulties. The king, however, contrived to ascertain the truth from other quarters, and accordingly Rose was authorised by him to make Pitt the noble offer of

£30,000; the king merely stipulating that the embarrassed statesman should be kept in ignorance of the name of the donor. True it is, that the gift was unhesitatingly refused by Pitt, but the fact in no degree detracts from the credit due to the king. "The scheme," writes Rose to Sir Herbert Taylor, "was found to be impracticable without a communication with Mr. Pitt. On the mention of it to him, he was actually more affected than I recollect to have seen him on any occasion; but he declined it, though with the deepest sense of gratitude possible. It was indeed one of the latest circumstances he mentioned to me, with considerable emotion, toward the close of his life." It was for certain reasons the wish of Mr. Rose, after Mr. Pitt's death, that the king's generosity should be made known to the public, but his Majesty would on no account permit his name to be used on the occasion. "It would bear the appearance," he said, "of making a parade of his intentions."

The following brief communications were the last which, for a long while to come, Pitt was destined to receive from his sovereign. The first of them, commencing "My dear Pitt," was evidently written on the same day on which Pitt, though no longer in office, brought forward the budget which he had previously framed for the current year, and is curious as being apparently the only occasion of George the Third having ever begun a letter to a subject in similar familiar phraseology.

"February 18, 1801, 8 P. M.

"MY DEAR PITT: — As you are closing, much to my sorrow, your political career, I cannot help expressing the joy I feel that the ways and means for the present year have been this day agreed to in committee without any debate, and apparently to the satisfaction of the House. G. R."

"February 20, 1801.

"His Majesty cannot help expressing infinite satisfaction at Mr. Pitt's feeling the expressions of the note the king wrote to him on Wednesday evening. They were only the effusions of the real affection his Majesty will ever have for Mr. Pitt.

"G. R."

The farewell interview between the king and Pitt took place on Saturday, the 14th of March, and on the 17th the new ministerial appointments were gazetted. Lords Grenville and Spencer, and Dundas and Windham, followed Pitt into retirement. Lords Westmoreland and Chatham, and the Duke of Portland, remained in office. Lord Chatham vacated the presidency of the Council to become master-general of the ordnance; the Duke of Portland, instead of remaining secretary of state for the home department, took Lord Chatham's place at the head of the Council. Lords Hawkesbury, Pelham, and Hobart became secretaries of state; Lord Westmoreland retained his post of

lord privy seal; the Earl of Hardwicke was appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland; Earl St. Vincent, first lord of the admiralty, and Lord Eldon, lord high chancellor, in the room of Lord Loughborough, who obtained a step in the peerage as Earl of Rosslyn.

Of all the arrangements which took place at this time, unquestionably the one which was personally the most gratifying to the king was the elevation of Lord Eldon to the woolsack. "The man," writes the late King of Hanover to Mr. Croker, in January, 1845, "who I should say enjoyed the greatest confidence of my late father during the latter part of his life, was the late Earl of Eldon; and I should think there must exist some weighty papers, for no man wrote better or knew how to express his opinions in a more concise way than George the Third did." [1] Lord Eldon, in fact, was the king's own personal nominee. "I do not

[1] The "papers" here referred to by the King of Hanover, as promising to be of so much interest and value, have been most kindly placed at the service of the author. They constitute a most interesting MS. volume, containing, besides seventy letters from George the Third to Lord Eldon, eight addressed to his lordship by Queen Charlotte; thirty-five by George the Fourth, as Prince of Wales and king; twenty-seven by Queen Caroline, when Princess of Wales; twelve by the Duke of York; eight by the Duke of Kent, and three by the Princess Elizabeth; besides three or four others by the Duke and Duchess of Brunswick. It is unnecessary perhaps to point out, that the late Mr. Horace Twiss, when engaged in writing his "Life of Lord Chancellor Eldon," was allowed to avail himself of the contents of this valuable collection.

know," he said, in after years, "what made George the Third so fond of me, but he was fond of me." On another occasion Lord Eldon observed: "I was the king's lord chancellor, not the minister's. When I was made Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, the king insisted upon my giving him my promise that whenever he called upon me to fulfil the office of chancellor I would do so. He did call upon me when Addington succeeded Pitt, and I could not do otherwise than fulfil my promise." It was at this time — on Lord Eldon kissing hands on his appointment as lord chancellor — that the king drew the Great Seal from the left breast of his greatcoat, where he had previously placed it, and delivered it to him with the affectionate expression, "I give it you from my heart." Lord Eldon was about to retire from the royal closet when the king observed, "Give my remembrances to Lady Eldon." On the chancellor intimating that he was not aware of Lady Eldon having any claim to so flattering a courtesy, "Yes, yes," said the king, "I know how much I owe to Lady Eldon. I know that you would have made yourself a country curate, and that she has made you my lord chancellor."

As will from time to time be shown, the minister who, next to Lord Eldon, grew into the greatest personal favour with the king, was the new premier. "The king," he writes to him, on the 15th of March, "cannot find words sufficiently

expressive of his Majesty's cordial approbation of the whole arrangements which his own chancellor of the exchequer has wisely, and his Majesty chooses to add, most correctly, recommended."

In the meantime, satisfactory as the king's progress toward recovery may have appeared, the seeds of mental malady were evidently still lurking in his system. On Monday, the 16th of March, on which day he presided at a Privy Council, he was so extremely nervous, while conversing with the Duke of Portland, "as to alarm the duke exceedingly." On the 20th, Lord Malmesbury mentions "uncomfortable accounts" of his Majesty being "extremely nervous and low-spirited," and, on the 26th, rumours were prevalent of his being seriously ill. On this latter day Lord Malmesbury inserts in his diary: "*Thursday, March 26th.* Drawing-room to-day very crowded; queen looking pale; princesses as if they had been weeping. They insinuate that the king is too ill for the queen to appear in public, and censure her for it. The Dukes of York and Cumberland there. The Prince of Wales was at the drawing-room, but behaved very rudely to the queen." Fox and Sheridan, it may be mentioned, were severally present at St. James's on this occasion.

From this date we are able to discover but few particulars respecting the king's state till the 20th of April, on which day he rode with the Prince of Wales to Kew. That at this time his mind was

still in a partially deranged state there seems to be little question. Not only on his arrival at Kew was he observed to be in an agitated state, — "conversing with a great number of people, workmen and others," — but, as will presently be seen, he most incautiously, in the course of conversation with his eldest son, gave utterance to the same confused and fanciful intention which had been uppermost in his mind during his former attack of insanity in 1788–89, of resigning the crown of Great Britain, and retiring, for the sake of ease and quiet, to his German Electorate. In whatever terms, or in whatever condition of mind, that intention may have been expressed, the prince would at all events seem to have lost but little time in endeavouring to turn the conversation to his own advantage. "Lord Eldon," writes Rose, on the 21st, "was prevented dining with me this day to meet Mr. Pitt, by having been sent for by the Prince of Wales. On his attending his Royal Highness, the prince told his lordship that it was the intention of his Majesty, declared yesterday, to devolve the government on him, the prince; that he wished the chancellor would consider the proper mode of that being carried into effect, and that it was the king's intention to retire to Hanover or to America." The prince further stated "That the queen and his brothers wished him to take measures for confining the king; that his Royal Highness very greatly disliked the Willis

family being about the king, and he was therefore desirous of knowing if they were placed there by any authority, or how they might be got rid of; that his Royal Highness had seen Lord Thurlow, and wished the chancellor to see him." This Lord Eldon declined doing; at the same time replying to the prince in the most guarded manner possible. As for the Willis family, he said that they were placed about the king's person, not by any positive authority, but "on grounds of propriety and notorious necessity." With Lord Rosslyn also, at this time, the prince had two interviews on the subject of his father's morbid notion of abdicating the throne, but apparently without impressing any greater amount of conviction upon the mind of that able lawyer, in regard to the seriousness of the king's intentions, than he had done on the mind of the chancellor.

In the meantime, the more distressing the king's condition had become, the more stringent appear to have been the precautions adopted, both in Downing Street as well as in the palace, to prevent the painful truth becoming known to the public. Three years afterward, for instance, Fox writes to Lord Lauderdale: "It is known, and now scarcely disavowed, that he had a severe relapse, and was for weeks at Kew in such a state as neither to see ministers nor his family." Even George Rose, intimate as he was both with the chancellor and with Dr. Thomas Willis, appears to have failed in

obtaining any important intelligence from either, till some time after the king's disorder had passed its crisis. The few particulars, however, which he elicited from them were mournfully interesting. Speaking of Doctor Willis, he writes: "He told me that unfortunately the king had taken a decided aversion to himself and the other medical people about him, and showed great impatience to get from under their restraint; that after his Majesty went to Kew, they had been under the necessity of removing him from the house where the queen and princesses were;[1] but that that was not effected without a mark of violence from his Majesty toward him." It was in this afflicting condition — "in a house at Kew, separated from his family, with the Willises living with him" — that the lord chancellor discovered his afflicted sovereign. On being admitted to his sick-chamber, he found that the great grief which preyed upon the mind of the royal patient was his forced separation from his family. He had made a solemn determination, he declared, energetically, that unless he was that very day allowed to rejoin the queen and his daughters, no earthly consideration should ever again induce him to sign his name to any state document, or to perform any act of kingly authority whatever. This, he added, was

[1] That is to say, that the king was removed from the former palace, which no longer exists, to the present red-brick edifice, which has succeeded to the denomination of "Kew Palace."

his fixed and irrevocable resolve, and he would abide by it as a gentleman and as a king. Accordingly, the chancellor, who himself related these particulars to Rose, was induced to consent to the king's removal to "the house where the queen was."

Whatever may have been the fluctuations in the king's malady at this time, whether for the better or worse, he was not only well enough on the 29th of April to go out walking and to address a cheerful note to Lord Eldon,[1] but five days afterward composed the following clear and businesslike letter:

The King to Mr. Strong.

"KEW, 4th May, 1801.

"The king never doubted that the title-deeds of the houses on Richmond Green were in Craig's Court; but this instance of neglect shows the impropriety of ever trusting gentlemen in that line with concerns they cannot have any reason to be entrusted with. In future his Majesty proposes that all the rents to be received, and all business in his Richmond property, shall solely be managed by Mr. Strong, of whose talent and integrity he is most thoroughly convinced.

[1] A lease, only, of "Kew House" had been taken by Frederick, Prince of Wales, about the year 1730, from the Capel family; the fee being afterward purchased by George the Third from the Dowager Countess of Essex, apparently at this particular period.

"There seems no objection to naming three trustees to whom Lady Essex's estate shall be conveyed. His Majesty proposes they shall also hold the other purchases he has made in the same manner, viz., his chancellor, Lord Eldon, Lord Kenyon, and Sir John Mitford, Speaker of the House of Commons, whose zeal in conducting the bill, as well as attention to obtain a proper title for the purchase of the Capel property, points this mark of confidence as highly proper.

"GEORGE R.

"*P. S.* The enclosed is for the three intended trustees, which Mr. Strong will communicate to them. G. R."

Either on the 16th or on the 17th of May, the chancellor had a long conversation with the king, whom, to use his own words, he found "perfectly well."[1] On the 20th his Majesty admitted his new prime minister to an interview, and on the 21st he had advanced so far toward recovery as to be able to preside at a Privy Council.

[1] Yet, on the 16th we find Dr. John Willis writing to the chancellor: "Of course we wish much that your lordship should see the king again soon, that every possible means should be used to reconcile his Majesty to his present control; for, till a consciousness of the necessity of temperance arises in his own mind, it is absolutely necessary to have resort to artificial prudence."

Mr. Addington to Lord Eldon.

"DOWNING STREET, 21st May, 1801.

"MY DEAR LORD: — I came so late from Kew, and was so hurried afterward till half-past twelve, when I went to bed, that it was not possible for me yesterday to write to you, as I wished and intended. During a quiet conversation of an hour and a half [with the king], there was not a sentiment, a word, a look, or a gesture, that I could have wished different from what it was. And yet my apprehensions, I must own to you, predominate. The wheel is likely to turn with an increasing velocity, as I cannot help fearing, and if so, it will very soon become unmanageable. God grant that I may be mistaken! We have, however, done our best. The Council, as your lordship has probably been informed by Mr. Fawkener, is to be held at the Queen's House at once.

"Ever sincerely yours,

"HENRY ADDINGTON."

At the Privy Council presided over by the king on this occasion were sworn in two eminent men, Mr. Abbot, afterward Lord Colchester, and Sir William Grant, of whom the former has bequeathed us a graphic account of the novel scene in which he was an actor. "*Thursday, May 21st.* At one I went to the Queen's House. At twenty minutes before two the Council sat, and Sir William Grant,

Wallace, and myself were sworn in. We took the oath of allegiance kneeling, and then the privy councillor's oath was administered to us standing; after which we kissed the king's hand, and shook hands with each privy councillor present, beginning with the chancellor at the king's right hand, then going behind the king's chair to the lord president on his left, and around the rest of the table." Opposite to the king, it seems, sat the prime minister. "After we were sworn in," continues Mr. Abbot, "the clerks of the Council stood on each side of the king, and the lord president rose and read a paper of business to be transacted, etc.; and upon each article the king read aloud what his pleasure was. After the business was finished the king rose and spoke to all his Council individually, going around as at the levee. He looked extremely well, stout, and upright, and joked as usual with the ministers."

Cheerful and well, however, as the king appeared to be, his mind was evidently still in a state of unsoundness. Four days after the scene in the council-chamber Dr. Thomas Willis writes to the lord chancellor:

"KEW HOUSE, May 25, 1801.

"MY LORD: — Doctor John[1] is riding with the king, but we conferred together before he set out, and he desired that I would write the letter

[1] Dr. John Willis.

which your lordship had requested to have this morning.

"The general impression yesterday, from the king's composure and quietness, was that he was very well. There was an exception to this in the Duke of Clarence, who dined here. 'He pitied the family, for he saw something in the king that convinced him that he must soon be confined again.'

"This morning I walked with his Majesty, who was in a perfectly composed and quiet state. He told me with great seeming satisfaction that he had had a most charming night, 'but one sleep from eleven till half after four,' when, alas! he had but three hours' sleep in the night, which upon the whole was passed in restlessness, in getting out of bed, opening the shutters, praying at times violently, and in making such remarks as betray a consciousness in him of his own situation, but which are evidently made for the purpose of concealing it from the queen. He frequently called out, 'I am now perfectly well, and my queen, my queen has saved me.' Whilst I state these particulars to your lordship, I must beg to remind you how much afraid the queen is lest she should be committed to him; for the king has sworn he will never forgive her if she relates anything that passes in the night.

"The only thing that he has repeated of your lordship's conversation is that you told him to

keep himself quiet. He certainly intends going to Windsor to-morrow morning early, for the day. Had not your lordship, therefore, better write to his Majesty that you had proposed, agreeably to his permission, to have paid your duty to him to-morrow, but that you understand he is going to Windsor, where you may endeavour to fix your audience for Wednesday?

"It is too evident, my lord, that it cannot be proper, since it cannot be safe, for the king to go to Weymouth as soon as he intends. Your lordship will therefore, no doubt, think it requisite to take steps to prevent it as soon as possible. I have the honour to be,

"Your lordship's most obedient servant,

"THOS. WILLIS."

It will be seen by the following letter that, however unwilling the king may have been to postpone his journey to Weymouth, he cheerfully complied with the wishes of the lord chancellor, who had evidently remonstrated with him on the subject:

The King to Lord Eldon.

"KEW, May 31, 1801.

"The king cannot allow any difficulty to stand in the way of his doing what may be most useful for the public service. He will therefore postpone his journey to Weymouth till the close of the ses-

sion for Parliament, relying that the lord chancellor and Mr. Addington will bring it as soon as possible to a conclusion. He will not therefore change any arrangement for removing the things necessary to be sent to Weymouth, but he and his family will remain at hand till that period.

"His Majesty will be glad to receive at the Queen's Palace the master of the rolls and solicitor-general on Wednesday, when he hopes to hear who may be most eligible to be appointed solicitor-general to the queen. GEORGE R." [1]

On the same day on which this letter was written, the king also wrote to his venerable friend, Bishop Hurd, now in the eighty-second year of his age.

The King to the Bishop of Worcester.

"KEW, May 31, 1801.

"MY GOOD LORD: — After a most tedious and severe illness, from which, by the interposition of divine Providence, I have most wonderfully escaped the jaws of death, I find myself enabled to pursue one of my most agreeable occupations, that of writing to you, who have never been in the most gloomy moments out of my thoughts. I can now assure you that my health is daily improving,

[1] Sir William Grant was at this period master of the rolls, and the Hon. Spencer Perceval solicitor-general.

though I cannot boast of the same strength and spirits I enjoyed before. Still, with quiet and sea-bathing, I trust they will soon be regained. Public events in every part of the globe appear more favourable, and the hand of divine Providence seems stretched forth to protect this favoured island, which alone has stood forth constantly in opposition to our wicked neighbours. I flatter myself, the fact of having a ministry composed of men of religion and great probity will tend to the restoration of more decorum. Neither my advice nor example shall be wanted to effect it.

"I expect the Bishop of Norwich [1] and the new deputy clerk of the closet this morning, that I may receive the holy communion. After what I have undergone, I should not have felt happy if I had not been a partaker of that, previous to my journey in the west; and a bishop bred at Emmanuel College, and whose principles and manners are so excellent, seemed to me the most proper person, as I could have the most excellent bishop bred up in that seminary of learning.

[1] Dr. Charles Manners Sutton, afterward Archbishop of Canterbury, was born in 1755. He was educated at the Charter House, and afterward at Emmanuel College, Cambridge. In 1791 he was preferred to the deanery of Peterborough, and in 1792 to the bishopric of Norwich, to which latter preferment was added the deanery of Windsor in 1794. Doctor Sutton was translated to the primacy in 1805, and died on the 21st of July, 1820.

"My four sons, the Dukes of York, Kent, Cumberland, and dear Adolphus, will receive it with me.

"Ever, my good lord, yours most affectionately,

"GEORGE R.

"*To the Lord Bishop of Worcester, Hartlebury Castle, Worcester.*"

On the 4th of June, the king's birthday, he was well enough to hold a levee at St. James's Palace, where he received congratulations on his recovery, from the foreign ministers and other persons of distinction, and after the levee presided at a Privy Council at Buckingham House. These exertions, however, as will be seen, proved too much for his nervous system.

CHAPTER II.

Continuance of the King's Malady — His Kindness to Mr. Addington — His Visit to George Rose at Cuffnells — The Court Resident at Weymouth — Peace with France — Violent Opinions of Fox — Pitt Supports Addington's Ministry — Demand for Pitt to Resume the Premiership — Estrangement between Pitt and Addington — Displeasure of the King at Not Having Been Consulted by Them — Further Court Visit to Weymouth.

GEORGE THE THIRD, at this period of trial, was labouring under much family distress. In addition to a delicate domestic trouble, on which there is no occasion to dwell, he could not but take deeply to heart the unfilial conduct of the Prince of Wales during his illness, as well as the unhappy differences which existed between the heir to the throne and his neglected consort. On the 6th of June, when the king's disorder had evidently returned, the Princess Elizabeth writes to Dr. Thomas Willis: "I am commanded by the queen to inform you by letter how much this subject of the princess is still on the king's mind to a degree that is distressing, from the unfortunate situation of the family." Nevertheless, as had been the

case during the king's former mental malady in 1789, his heart appears to have been all softness, even toward those who had offended him. "The queen," continues the Princess Elizabeth, "commands me to add that, if you could see her heart, you would see that she is guided by every principle of justice, and with a most fervent wish that the dear king may do nothing to form a breach between him and the prince, for she verily lives in dread of it. I think the king," concludes the princess, "heated and fatigued; which I am not surprised at, not having been one minute quiet the whole day. I assure you it is a very great trial, the anxiety we must go through; but we trust in God, therefore we hope for the best." To the same royal pen we are indebted for some further interesting particulars relative to the progress of the king's disorder:

The Princess Elizabeth,[1] *apparently to the Rev. Dr. Thomas Willis.*

[KEW], June 9th, 1801.

"I am just come into my room when I found your very comfortable letter, which I return you many thanks for. I had promised mamma to tell you that the visit to the princess,[2] intended for

[1] This accomplished princess, the third daughter of George the Third, was born on the 17th of June, 1770, and on the 7th of April, 1818, was married to the Landgrave of Hesse Homberg.

[2] The Princess of Wales.

to-day, was put off till Friday, and now is not thought of till next week; but she thinks it right to say to you that she is to write on Friday to the Duchess of Brunswick.[1] You may inform the lord chancellor of it, in hopes that he may speak to the king about not naming the subject to her, for you know what a piece of work she would make about it. I am also to name that the king told her to-day that he expected to remain better than another fortnight here. She commands me to say to you that she wishes the lord chancellor would show Mr. Addington that as the king is contented with it, he had better not hurry our going; as he is so much better, there is hope that in gaining strength it will ensure us from having a relapse, which you may easily believe is her earnest and daily prayer. He has been very quiet, very heavy, and very sleepy, all the evening, and has said, two or three times, yesterday was too much for him. God grant that his eyes may soon open, and that he may see his real and true friends in their true colours! How it grieves one to see so fine a character clouded by complaint! But he who inflicted it may dispel it, so I hope all will soon be well.

"Your friend,

"ELIZABETH."

[1] The mother of the Princess of Wales. She died in England on the 23d of March, 1813, and was buried in St. George's Chapel, at Windsor.

The Princess Elizabeth, apparently to the Rev. Dr. Thomas Willis.

"June 12, 1801.

"I have the pleasure of saying, yesterday was a very good day, though the sleepiness continues to a great degree. I am told the night has been tolerable, but he has got up in his usual way, which is very vexatious. I am commanded by the queen to desire you will say everything from her to the lord chancellor, and thank him in the strongest terms for the interest he has taken in her distress. She so entirely builds her faith on him, that she doubts not his succeeding in everything with his Majesty, who, to say true, greatly wants the advice of so good a friend and so good a head. How providential is it that he is, thank God, placed where one can know his worth! I have just seen Brown, who is very well satisfied. This morning, therefore, I trust all is going on well, though I feel that there is still fear.

"Your friend,

"ELIZABETH.

"*P. S.* I assure you we are not a little thankful to you for all the trouble you take for us."

The Rev. Dr. Thomas Willis to Lord Eldon.

"KEW GREEN, June 16, 1801.

"Eight o'clock P. M.

"MY LORD: — Doctor John, who has not seen the king, will bring this to town. I have nothing

to say that is in truth very favourable. His Majesty rode out this morning at ten o'clock and did not return till four. He paid a visit, in the course of the day, to Mr. Dundas.[1] His attendants thought him much hurried, and so think his pages. He has a great thirst upon him, and his family are in great fear. His Majesty still talks much of his prudence, but he shows none. His body, mind, and tongue are all upon the stretch every minute; and the manner in which he is now expending money in various ways, which is so unlike him when well, all evince that he is not so right as he should be.

"My lord, your lordship's most obedient servant,

"THOMAS WILLIS."

Notwithstanding the "hurry" of the king's mind, and the morbid and fluctuating state of his spirits, we find him still amiably regardful of the feelings of those around him, and endeavouring, as usual, to impart pleasure to others. Considering himself to be deeply obliged to Addington for having consented to accept the premiership on the resignation of Mr. Pitt, he missed no opportunity of distinguishing him by marks of royal kindness and favour. For instance, the royal lodge in Richmond Park, known as White Lodge, being at this time untenanted, it occurred to the king that it might serve as an agreeable and convenient suburban retreat for his minister after the official

[1] At Wimbledon.

labours of the day ; and accordingly, he not only placed the lodge at his disposal, but insisted on repairing and putting it in order at his own private expense. Neither was this the full amount of the king's kindness. Anticipating with the most amiable satisfaction the day on which he should be able to introduce the Addington family to their new abode, he no sooner became convalescent than he took a pleasure in riding over, at times, from Kew to the White Lodge, for the purpose of personally superintending the progress of the improvements and repairs. On one occasion, especially, the good-natured monarch was to be seen on the spot, accompanied by a person carrying a number of sticks, who, under his directions, marked out a plot of ground containing about sixty acres, the whole of which the king intended to have converted into pleasure-grounds and gardens, but which, at Mr. Addington's express solicitation, were subsequently reduced to about five acres. At length the near completion of the works enabled the king to despatch the following pleasing invitation to his minister :

The King to Mr. Addington.

"Kew, June 13, 1801.

"The appearance of the morning makes the king hope the evening will be dry. He therefore trusts Mr. Addington will bring his family, in his sociable, to the lodge in Richmond Park ; but

hopes, among the number, that the lively and engaging youngest daughter will not be omitted.

"GEORGE R."

Unluckily, the prime minister happened to be detained in London on some business of unusual importance, which compelled him to keep the royal party waiting for nearly an hour in the unfurnished lodge, before he was able to make his appearance. Their Majesties, however, seem to have been in the highest good humour. Half a century afterward, the "engaging youngest daughter," referred to in the king's note, used to describe the glee with which the princesses explored the different apartments, as well as the extreme kindness and good nature manifested by the king and queen.[1] On the following day his Majesty writes to his minister: "The king is highly gratified at the repeated marks of the sensibility of Mr. Addington's heart, which must greatly add to the comfort of having placed him with so much propriety at the head of the treasury. He trusts their mutual affection can only cease with their lives." It may be mentioned that the White Lodge — wickedly designated by Canning

[1] According to the peerages, Lord Sidmouth's youngest daughter, at this time, was the Hon. Harriet Addington, who, having been born on the 17th of June, 1800, had at this period not completed her first year, and consequently could scarcely have been the "youngest daughter" referred to by the king.

the *Villa Medici*, in allusion to Addington's nickname of the "Doctor" — continued for no fewer than forty-three years to be the favourite residence of the amiable minister.[1]

Notwithstanding the happy progress which the king was evidently making toward recovery, it was still deemed expedient to retain one, if not more, of the Willis family about his person; a precautionary measure which, as will be seen by the following note, he protested against with pathetic impatience:

The King to Lord Eldon.

"KEW, June 21, 1801.

"The king would not do justice to the feelings of his heart, if he an instant delayed expressing his conviction of the attachment the lord chancellor bears him, of which the letter now before him is a fresh proof; but at the same time he cannot but in the strongest manner decline having Dr. Robert Willis about him.[2] The line of practice followed with great credit by that gentleman, renders it

[1] The White Lodge, or, as it was formerly styled, the Stone Lodge, was built by George the First as a place of refreshment after hunting. The designer of the building was Henry, ninth Earl of Pembroke.

[2] Dr. Thomas Willis, it would appear, had already been removed from immediate attendance upon the king; at least the circumstance of his letter to the Princess Elizabeth, of the 16th, being dated Kew Green instead of Kew House, as well as the fact of their correspondence having been carried on in writing instead of orally, would seem to lead to that presumption.

incompatible with the king's feelings that he should — now by the goodness of divine Providence restored to reason — consult a person of that description. His Majesty is perfectly satisfied with the zeal and attention of Doctor Gisborne, in whose absence he will consult Sir Francis Milman, but cannot bear consulting any of the Willis family, though he will ever respect the character and conduct of Dr. Robert Willis. No person that ever has had a nervous fever can bear to continue the physician employed on the occasion; and this holds much more so in the calamitous one that has so long confined the king, but of which he is now completely recovered. GEORGE R."

On Sunday, the 28th of June,—the day previous to that on which the king was to set out on his long-intended visit to Weymouth, — the small village church of Kew witnessed the interesting spectacle of the whole of the royal family, including the Prince of Wales, being present during the performance of divine service under its roof, their attendance having been expressly enjoined by the pious monarch. Later in the day, the king paid a friendly and farewell visit to the Addington family, who were then temporarily residing in Mr. Dundas's house at Wimbledon. "The king and royal family," writes the premier, "paid a visit of two hours to Mrs. Addington and myself on Sunday evening, and yesterday quitted Kew, in perfect health, for

the New Forest and Weymouth." By the "New Forest," Mr. Addington means Mr. Rose's seat of Cuffnells, on its borders, where the king remained from Monday till the Friday following, and whence, on the Wednesday, we find his host writing as follows:

The Right Honourable George Rose to Lord Chancellor Eldon.

"CUFFNELLS, July 1, 1801.

"MY DEAR LORD: — His Majesty came down here, most perfectly well, on Monday about three o'clock, without the slightest appearance of fatigue from his journey; walked about a little in the afternoon, and rested extremely well at night. Yesterday he rode to Walhampton to dine with Sir Harry Neale,[1] — a visit settled some weeks ago, — and passed through Lymington. Unfortunately, a heavy shower fell while his Majesty was on the road, about a mile and a half short of this place. No entreaties could prevail with him to put on a greatcoat, and he was wet through before he reached the town hall, where he remained about three quarters of an hour, speaking to the mayor and several gentlemen. He then went to Sir Harry Neale's, and dined without changing his clothes; then rode back here, and was again wet,

[1] Admiral Sir Harry Neale, Bart., G. C. B., a distinguished naval officer, and for some time a lord of the admiralty, died in February, 1840.

but changed his dress as soon as he got in. There is no describing the uneasiness I felt at his Majesty keeping on his wet clothes, because I recollect Mr. Pitt telling me that his first illness, in 1788, was supposed to be brought on by the same thing; but there was no possible means of preventing it. The exercise, too, must have been, I fear, too much after the disuse of riding for some time. His Majesty intends going to Southampton — ten miles — on horseback to-day and returning to dinner. I mention these circumstances to your lordship, deriving some relief to my own mind from it, without a hope of your being able to take any immediate step in concert with Mr. Addington and others of his Majesty's servants, but trusting that it may induce your lordship to make as early a visit to Weymouth as possible.

"His Majesty has taken a determination to go by sea from Lymington to Weymouth if it should be found practicable, the first of which places is considerably within the Needles, and their Majesties and the royal family would have had four miles to go, in a boat, from the town to where the yachts are; nor could it be known, till they got there, whether the wind would be such as to ensure their taking a quiet passage to Weymouth. I have therefore ventured to suggest their Majesties' breakfasting at my cottage, near Christ Church, on Friday morning. If, when they get there, the wind is fair and the weather fine, they can embark

easily, as the yachts will be within half a mile of the cottage. If the wind shall not be fair, horses will be ready at Christ Church — which is entirely in the road — and at other stages, to carry their Majesties and the royal family to Weymouth. Sir Henry Neale and Captain Gray think that, beyond all comparison, a better place than the embarkation from Lymington. The run from Christ Church to Weymouth, with a fair wind, is not more than four, five, or six hours.

"Your lordship will, I am sure, forgive me for troubling you with all these particulars, and will attribute my doing so to the true motive.

"I can add nothing to the entreaties I have already used, that you will come here if you can, when you come westward.

"Ever, my dear lord, most truly yours,

"GEORGE ROSE.

"*P. S.* We are returned from Southampton. All remarkably well with the king. He has not suffered in the smallest degree from yesterday's business. His Majesty was delighted with his reception at Southampton."

The King to Lord Eldon.

"CUFFNELLS, July 1, 1801.

"The king can assure the lord chancellor he continues daily improving in strength, that his sleep is now very refreshing, and that he trusts,

when the lord chancellor comes to Weymouth, he will see a manifest improvement, as medicine is now, by the advice of Doctor Gisborne, entirely laid aside. GEORGE R."

The accounts of the king's health, which from time to time reached London from Weymouth, proved to be satisfactory.

The King to the Right Hon. Henry Addington.

"WEYMOUTH, July 8, 1801.

"The king received Mr. Addington's box this morning, but the key having broken in opening that of the war office yesterday, he has sent for a new one to Davis at Windsor, which cannot, at soonest, arrive before to-morrow, when his Majesty will answer its contents.

"He is certain Mr. Addington will be pleased at hearing all the family here are now well. The king finds his sleep now perfect, but that it is necessary to avoid any hurry. Even the event of the breaking the key gave more uneasiness than it ought. GEORGE R."

It may be mentioned, as evidence of the king's thoughtful kindness, that the following day, in acknowledging the receipt of the key, he expresses his hope that "the messenger who returned from Cuffnells called, agreeable to order, at Winchester, that Mr. Addington might hear of his son." "His

Majesty," writes Addington to Doctor Huntingford, "had at one time an idea of seeing you and my son on his way through Winchester, but I ventured to discourage it."

"The king," writes Lord Loughborough, — now Earl of Rosslyn, — on the 16th of August, "has, I think, at no time when I have had the means of seeing him — every day and often all the day — appeared to be in so steady a state of health. He might at times appear to those who have always seen him in high spirits, to be rather low, but the case really is that his manner is much more composed, and he is always ready to enter into conversation when it is going on, though he does not always start it. He is become also more moderate in his exercise, and admits that it is possible to be fatigued. Public events seem at present to give no occasion for uneasiness, and I trust they will continue in such a state as not to ruffle his mind, the composure of which is the great point on which the fate of our country depends." To the Bishop of Worcester, the king, on the 24th of October, — shortly after the return of the court to Windsor, — gives a similar satisfactory report of the state of his health. "Sea-bathing has had its usual success with me, and in truth it was never more necessary, for the severe fever I had the last winter left many unpleasant sensations. These, I have every reason to say, by the blessing of the Almighty, are nearly removed. I am forced

to be very careful, and to avoid everything of fatigue, either of mind or body, but feel I am gradually gaining ground. The next week will be rather harassing, as I must open the session of Parliament, and attend the ceremonies in consequence; but I shall return every day to Kew, that I may be more quiet."

The all-important question which awaited the deliberations of Parliament was the judiciousness of the peace between Great Britain and France, the preliminaries of which had been signed in London on the 1st of October. Throughout England the event was hailed with extraordinary enthusiasm and rejoicings. For instance, as Colonel Lauriston, the bearer of the French ratification, was on his way to the secretary of state's office, the populace took the horses from his carriage, and dragged it to Downing Street. To Lord Clare, Lord Auckland writes, on the 12th: "Were you not ashamed of our *bêtes*, *badauds*, and blackguards, in changing themselves into coach-horses to drag the carriage of Bonaparte's aide-de-camp?" At night, all London and other towns were illuminated.

On the necessity of peace, and the wisdom of the conditions on which it had been obtained, public men were greatly divided in opinion. It was the conviction of Windham, for instance, that those "who, in a moment of rashness and weakness, had fatally put their hands to the treaty, had signed

the death-warrant of their country." According to Lord Grenville, also, the terms of the treaty were not only disadvantageous to Great Britain, but fraught with national degradation. "Lord Grenville and all his family," writes Lord Malmesbury, "are violent against it; more like party violence than public wishes." "It is a peace," said Sir Philip Francis, "which everybody is glad of, though nobody is proud of."

Other persons, on the contrary, — and especially those who, like Fox and Addington, placed confidence in Bonaparte's professed "wish for peace" and aversion to the war, — believed that the greatest of blessings had descended on their country. He had never, said Fox, assented to any public measure with greater satisfaction. "Even those who are most dissatisfied," he writes to Mr. Grey, on the 12th of October, "only say that every gentleman is against it, and every blackguard for it." As for Addington, he was elated beyond measure. "On getting out of my carriage in St. James's Park," writes Lord Malmesbury, on the 29th of September, "I met Mr. Addington. He was in uncommon high spirits, from which I readily inferred that the peace negotiation was likely to terminate successfully." And again, two days afterward, Lord Malmesbury mentions Addington's "childish exultation and joy at an event of which the issue at best must be doubtful."

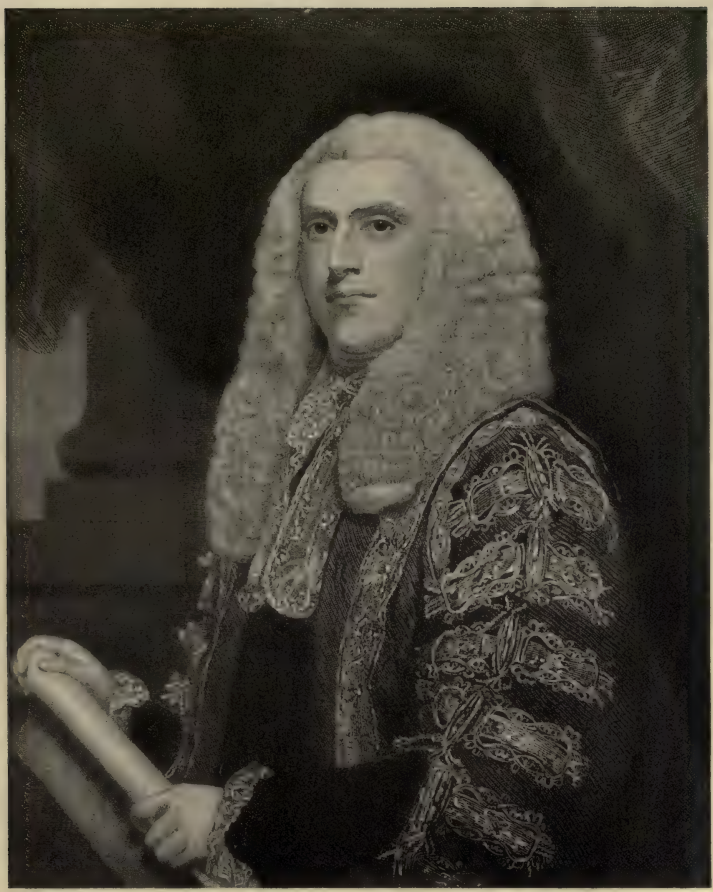
The doubtful event alluded to by Lord Malmes-

bury was, of course, the uncertain durability of the peace, a point on which we find the king not only much less sanguine than Fox and Addington, but pointedly styling it an "experimental peace." Lord Malmesbury happening, about this time, to meet the Duke of York in the streets, his Royal Highness inquired the news. "Peace, sir," was the reply, "in a week, and war in a month." "At the next drawing-room," writes Lord Malmesbury, the king said to me, 'You are a great prophet; I believe your prediction will be true.' I had forgot what I had said to the Duke of York. The king brought it to my mind, and added, 'I should prophesy the same; I am persuaded you are right.'" Entertaining these doubts, or, rather, to use the king's own words, placing little reliance on the "assurances of those who set every religious, moral, and social principle at naught," he would willingly and wisely have prevented a premature diminution of the military strength of the country. "In my opinion," he writes to the Bishop of Worcester, on the 24th of October, "on the keeping up a respectable marine and army we can alone expect to meet with that respect which the honourable and gallant conduct we have shown deserves."

Pitt's views on the subject of the peace corresponded with the views of Addington. "Pitt counselled," writes Lord Malmesbury, "and of course directed the whole." Under these circum-

Henry Addington.

Photo-etching after the painting by John Copley.



stances we can expect nothing less than to find the ex-minister expressing satisfaction at the preliminaries, both in and out of Parliament. To Mr. Long he writes, on the 1st of October, that the terms are "certainly highly creditable, and on the whole very advantageous;" and at the same time he expresses himself nearly in the same words to Lord Mulgrave. Nor was his language in Parliament very dissimilar from that of his private correspondence. "Whatever criticism," he said, "may be applied to inferior parts of these great transactions, they are, on the whole, such as afford great joy to the country, and entitle the government which concluded them to esteem and thanks."[1] Thus, on the main point at issue, the importance of peace to the country, were Pitt and Fox completely agreed. With regard to Fox, however, his long exclusion from office not only blunted the great satisfaction with which he would otherwise have hailed the advent of peace, but appears to have embittered his very existence. For instance, at a public meeting held at the Shakespeare Tavern on the 10th of October, we find him exclaiming: "It may be said that the peace we have made is glorious to the French Republic, and glorious to the chief consul. Ought it not to be so? Ought not glory to be the reward of such a glorious strug-

[1] "I do not regret," were Pitt's words at a later period, "having spoken in favour of the peace. It had become a necessary measure; and rest for England, however short, is desirable."

gle? France stood against a confederacy composed of all the great kingdoms of Europe. She completely baffled the attempts of those who menaced her independence." Neither, when his friend Grey wrote to remonstrate with him on the indiscreetness of such language, did he express any regret that the words had passed his lips. "For the truth is," he writes, "I am gone something further in hate to the English government than perhaps you and the rest of my friends are, and certainly further than can with prudence be avowed. The triumph of the French government over the English does, in fact, afford me a degree of pleasure which it is very difficult to disguise."

In the meantime, Addington, notwithstanding the feebleness of his administration, had been allowed to remain for many months in the comparatively tranquil possession of power and place. At any moment, indeed, a union between the three parties in opposition, of which Pitt, Fox, and Lord Grenville were severally the chiefs, might drive him from the helm of government; but as yet he had little to fear from such an alliance. Generally speaking, the country seems to have been far from dissatisfied with his management of public affairs, or rather with Mr. Pitt's, for the latter, true to his promise, took his seat on the bench behind ministers in the House of Commons, and continued zealously to extend to them his friendly counsel and support. Fortunately for Addington, not only

had no defeat or disaster befallen the arms of Great Britain since his accession to power, but, on the contrary, her military renown had been enhanced by the successful expedition to Egypt, under the command of Sir Ralph Abercrombie, in the month of March, and the splendid victory won by Nelson at Copenhagen, in April. Since then, his procurement of the Peace of Amiens, and the consequent repeal of a hateful war-tax, — in which light the income-tax was then exclusively regarded, — had gone far to increase his popularity, and to strengthen his administration. "Opposition," writes Wilberforce, at the beginning of December, 1801, "is melting away manifestly. Grey gone out of town; Tierney has declared himself friendly; Erskine and Lord Moira ditto. Only Fox and Sheridan still where they were, probably because Addington could not receive them. Pitt supports most magnanimously, and assists in every way." In time of war, indeed, Addington might yet be found wanting, but even on this point there were probably many persons who agreed with the opinion of Lord Macaulay, that "Addington might easily have been a better war minister than Pitt, and could not possibly have been a worse." Other persons, again, there were, who had arrived at the conviction that the interests of the country were safer in the hands of men of moderate talents and moderate measures if combined with honest intentions, than if entrusted to statesmen

of more adventurous views and more brilliant abilities.

"Praise to placeless proud ability
Let the prudent Muse disclaim,
And sing the statesman, all civility,
Whom moderate talents raise to fame.
He, no random projects urging,
Makes us wild alarms to feel;
With moderate measures gently purging
Ills that prey on Britain's weal."[1]

Pitt, as we have seen, had scrupulously kept his promise of supporting the administration of his friend, and accordingly, so long as his advice was sought and followed by Addington, the kindly intercourse between them remained uninterrupted, and the public service was correspondingly benefited. Obviously, however, so anomalous a political partnership could last for no very great length of time. On the one hand, Pitt had been for too many years accustomed to the occupation, the excitement, and dignity of office not to wish to be reinstated in his former quarters at the treasury, while as for Addington, the more familiar he became with public business, and the less dependent upon the advice of others, the more his vanity seems to have flattered him that it was to his own individual merit, and not to the wisdom and experience of his friend, that he was indebted for the success which had hitherto attended his administration of affairs. Ac-

[1] Canning's "Song of Moderate Men and Moderate Measures."

cordingly, Pitt was less and less frequently consulted by him ; the result being that public business was more and more unsatisfactorily carried on, and that Pitt became less and less satisfied with the government.

Such was the state of the political relationship between Pitt and Addington, when, in the autumn of 1802, the aggressive acts and restless ambition of Bonaparte began to evince to the people of Great Britain how hollow was the peace which they had made, and how probable, if not imminent, was the renewal of hostilities. Then it was that men began to ask themselves whether, in a season of great emergency, such as seemed to be at hand, the destinies of a great country could with safety be left in the hands of so feeble a Cabinet as that of which Addington was the head, and of so second rate a statesman as Addington himself. Pitt, indeed, had shown himself, as a war minister, incomparably inferior to his illustrious father; but, on the other hand, his shortcomings were overlooked by the public in their admiration of his splendid eloquence, his eminent administrative abilities, his unselfish patriotism, and the indomitable fortitude which he had displayed in seasons of difficulty and danger. On the other hand, some even of Addington's own friends, such as the Duke of Portland and Lord Glenbervie, seem to have admitted the insufficiency of their chief. According to Canning, "his own troops," on one occasion, "were heartily

ashamed of him." "The hope is," writes Canning to Lord Malmesbury, on the 26th of November, "that Addington, if left to himself, may feel his difficulties and offer to give way. But I fear, on the other hand, his great vanity, and am confident that nothing but language in Parliament can cure it."

In Parliament such language as Canning refers to began to be heard in loud and eloquent demands for the recall of Pitt to power. Lord Grenville, notwithstanding their political differences, was the first to raise the cry. "You have no hope of salvation," he exclaimed, in the House of Lords, "but by a strong system of defence. Europe is at this time sunk in distraction and despair, but the energy and spirit of Great Britain may arouse the states of the Continent to a glorious struggle for their liberty and independence. If, however, there be any hope, it is to be found in measures of decision and firmness, — in a bold and animated tone held by a leader of courage and capacity, — not by any of the men now in power, but by him to whom this country, to whom Europe, looks up at this awful hour, for the preservation of their dearest rights and liberties." In similar language spoke out Canning in the House of Commons on the 8th of December. "I am far," he said, "from objecting to the large military establishments which are proposed to you. I vote for them with all my heart. But, for the purpose of coping with Bonaparte,

one great commanding spirit is worth them all. This is my undisguised opinion." Very different, on the other hand, was the opinion expressed by Sheridan in the course of debate. "Pitt," he exclaimed, "the only man to save the country! No single man can save the country. If a nation depends only upon one man, it cannot, and I will add, it does not deserve to be saved. It can only be done by the Parliament and the people."

In the meantime, the state of Pitt's health had compelled him to try the effect of the air and waters of Bath, at which place — after having passed a night on the road at Addington's villa in Richmond Park — he arrived about the 25th or 26th of October. Here, at intervals, he received visits from Lord Malmesbury, Rose, Canning, and other friends and ardent admirers of his great abilities, whose undisguised object it was to effect a political rupture between him and Addington, either by inducing him to take an active personal part in Parliament against the government, or else to approve of his partisans instituting such other steps as seemed best calculated to lead to the removal of "the doctor" from power.

Of those friends one of the most persevering was George Canning, — then on the threshold of his brilliant political career, — whose eloquent attempts, in the course of the autumn, to induce his leader to take the field against the government, seem to have produced more effect

upon Pitt's mind than those of any other of his friends. Pitt, nevertheless, was not to be diverted from the resolution which he had formed. He admitted, indeed, that in the present critical season ministers were wanting in "sufficient powers" to serve, and much less save the country, and further that, as regarded himself personally, it was not very agreeable to him to be expected to support measures which he was unable entirely to approve. On the other hand, however, he dwelt with great force upon the promise of aid and advice which he had made to Addington at the outset of his administration. Possibly, he said, he might have gone too far on that occasion and committed himself too deeply, but, at all events, he regarded the promise which he had then made as redeemable by no lapse of time or change of circumstances; in fact, as "solemnly binding." Again, however, Canning returned to the charge. Pitt having, in the course of the discussion, been brought to make the further concession that a change of ministers was indispensably necessary for the well-being of the state, "Then," inquired Canning, "is not the time arrived when you are called upon by the strongest and most paramount of all duties to come forward and resume your position?" "I do not deny it," was Pitt's reply. "I will not affect a childish modesty. But recollect what I have just said. I stand pledged. I make no

scruple of owning that I am ambitious; but my ambition is character, not office. I may have engaged myself inconsiderately; but I am irrecoverably engaged."

It was in the course of this conversation that Canning adduced, among other arguments, the remarkable admission, said to have been volunteered long ago by Addington to Lord Granville Leveson, namely, that he regarded himself merely as a *locum tenens* for Pitt. "Addington," said Canning, "has all along declared he looked upon himself as your *locum tenens*, and ready to resign his office back to you whenever the country or you require it at his hands." "Not distinctly this in conversation with me," was Pitt's reply; "but something, I own, very similar to it." To these words of Pitt some interest, if not importance, seems to attach. For instance, not only in our own time has it been doubted whether the words were ever made use of by Addington, but even in Addington's time some such doubt would seem to have existed, since, two years after they are said to have been spoken, we find Lord Malmesbury directly interrogating Lord Granville Leveson on the subject. "I reminded Leveson," he writes, "of what Addington had said to him when he resigned. Leveson said he certainly said it, and that he looked upon him only as a *locum tenens* for Pitt."

Nor was it only in these confidential communi-

cations with Canning that Pitt was betrayed into expressing dissatisfaction at the manner in which Addington was conducting the business of the nation. For instance, while conversing with Lord Malmesbury, in the month of November, we not only find him objecting to the king's speech as being "very vague and loose," but pointing to one of the statements in it, and adding that it "was false." Again, when Addington submitted to him his financial exposition, preparatory to his bringing his budget before the House of Commons, Pitt not only animadverted on the enormity of the miscalculations, — estimated by him to amount to no less a sum than £2,800,000, — but, on another occasion, we find him expressing his conviction that "the whole of those statements were founded on gross errors, arising from the most childish ignorance."

It was about this time a favourite project of Canning, and of his fellow schemers, to address a memorial to Addington, in which, in language as little offensive as possible, it was to be intimated to him how slight was the confidence the country placed in his administration, and consequently how expedient it was that he should resign the helm of government to Pitt. To this document it was hoped to obtain the signatures, not only of Pitt's friends and of other persons of political importance, but even of some of the supporters of government. It was further hoped that the proj-

ect might be kept from the knowledge of Pitt. By some accident, however, he became apprised of what was passing, and accordingly, on Sunday, the 21st of November, so early as half-past eight o'clock in the morning, he repaired to Lord Malmesbury's apartments at Bath for the purpose of protesting against the well-meant intentions of his followers. Originating, he said, as the project did, in his personal friends, it would have all the appearance of a plot or cabal; besides which, "whether he knew of it directly, or, as was the case, accidentally, it would be impossible for him to escape the imputation of conniving at it, or avoid suspicions that he was a party to it." If, added Pitt, the public were as anxious for his return to power as his friends seemed to suppose, he must, under any circumstances, be invited back; but if such was not the prevailing desire, then "his coming into office at all was useless and improper." The same sensible view of the difficulty was taken by the late Earl of Lonsdale, then Lord Lowther. "The acts of Mr. Pitt's confidential friends," he writes, "will be considered as his own, and I leave it to your mind to suggest to you how far it would be congenial to the turn of his mind to return to his situation till the voice of the country called for it in a tone he could not resist. This may and most probably will be the case; and to precipitate that event, by any interposition, might perhaps render his ser-

vices less efficacious, and subject him to suspicions he would not wish to encounter." Under these circumstances the letter to Addington was suppressed. Doubtless Pitt's still surviving affection for Addington had its share in inducing him to treat him with more tenderness than he might otherwise have done. Not long afterward, for instance, we find Pitt deprecating the over zeal of his young friend Canning, as being likely to occasion, "what of all things he most reprobated," the "embroiling him personally" with Addington and Lord Hawkesbury.[1]

Among other causes which at this time assisted to increase Pitt's growing prejudice against Addington and his colleagues, was a particularly offensive attack upon him in an article which appeared in the *Times* newspaper on the 2d of December. "In the *Times* of yesterday," writes his friend Rose, on the 3d, "is a most virulent and elaborate attack on Mr. Pitt and his friends, and a most fulsome panegyric on the present ministers, but written with ability. The editor of this paper is in habits of constant intercourse with the minister's brother."[2] The essay is detestable in all its

[1] Robert Banks Jenkinson, Baron Hawkesbury, was, in December, 1803, summoned to the House of Lords, *vitâ patris*, by that title. On the 17th of December, 1808, he succeeded his father as second Earl of Liverpool, and on the assassination of Mr. Perceval, in June, 1812, was appointed first lord of the treasury, which high post he filled till April, 1827. He died December 4, 1828.

[2] Hiley Addington.

parts, but more particularly so for the language in which Mr. Pitt is grossly censured for his skulking from office in a disgraceful manner in the hour of danger, and abandoning his sovereign." Pitt's anger, on perusing it, was very great. He was determined, he told Rose, to intimate to Addington that, unless the article were publicly apologised for, or, at all events, publicly disavowed in some shape or other, he should regard it as being countenanced by the administration, and as having Addington's sanction. On further consideration, however, he allowed the matter to rest.

Quitting Bath the day before Christmas day, Pitt proceeded to Rose's seat at Cuffnell's, where he remained till the 27th, when he set off to pay a short visit to Lord Malmesbury. "Pitt," writes his lordship, "came to Park Place about seven in the evening, to a late dinner. Mr. Elliot was the only person in the house besides my daughters and Fitzharris. Pitt was the pleasantest companion possible at and after dinner, whether conversing with us or with them, and we sat up, without any reference to public concerns, till near one o'clock." The next day the party was joined by Canning, with whom, on the 29th, Pitt proceeded to Lord Grenville's seat, Dropmore, where he remained till the 1st of January. Thence he proceeded to Bromley Hill, the seat of his friend Mr. Long, afterward Lord Farnborough, which, for a short

time to come, he seems to have made his head-quarters.

It was about this time that Pitt paid two visits to Addington at Richmond, of one of which Rose gives us a curious and interesting account in his Diaries. "Mr. Pitt," he writes, "told me that when he was in town, after Christmas, he dined and slept at Mr. Addington's in Richmond Park; that they were alone the whole afternoon and evening, and a considerable part of the next morning, in all which time Mr. Addington never dropped the remotest hint about Mr. Pitt returning to office; but in the chaise, coming into town, when they had reached Hyde Park, Mr. Addington, in a very embarrassed manner, entered on the subject by saying that if Lord Grenville had not stated the indispensable necessity of Mr. Pitt coming into office to carry on the government, he should have been disposed himself to propose his return to administration, and followed that up in a way that rendered it impossible for Mr. Pitt to remain silent. He therefore said that whenever it should be thought there was a necessity for his returning to office, he should consider very attentively how far it would be right and proper for him to do so; and in such an event he should first desire to know what his Majesty's wishes might be on the subject, and that he should not decide without knowing the opinion of Mr. Addington and his colleagues about it. It appeared, from Mr.

Addington having delayed this conversation till this time, within ten minutes or a quarter of an hour before their separation, and from the extreme embarrassment he was under during it, that he felt reluctant and awkward in beginning it, and that he wished it to be of no long continuance."

Before the end of January, Pitt had taken up his abode at his own residence, Walmer Castle. "Pitt not yet come up," writes Wilberforce, on the 12th of February; "I suspect not very friendly to Addington just now."

In the meantime, as the language of Bonaparte became more insolent and more menacing, and as the prospect of war consequently became greater, the desire of the public for the return of Pitt to power became more general and more loudly expressed. "Pitt's return talked of and wished," writes Wilberforce on the 8th of March. Not only, in the month of January, did one of Addington's own colleagues, Lord Pelham,[1] express a "most sincere wish" that Pitt was again at the head of the government, but, some time afterward, the president of the Council, the Duke of Portland, believing himself at the time to be on his death-bed, addressed an affecting letter to the king,

[1] Thomas, Lord Pelham, afterward second Earl of Chichester, held the seals as secretary of state for the home department from 30th July, 1801, to 17th July, 1803. He died on the 4th of July, 1826.

in which he solemnly advised and entreated him to recall Mr. Pitt to his service, as being "beyond all comparison the fittest man to be at the head of the government in times of difficulty or peril." It has been supposed that it would have been found no easy task to induce the king to part with Addington, but such would scarcely seem to have been the case. For instance, as far back as the 1st of November, we find the Duke of York observing to Lord Malmesbury, "You well know we never talk to his Majesty on public affairs; but, from the few things I have heard him say, I cannot but suppose his Majesty considers the state of them to be very humiliating to this country." Again, on the 18th of February, we find the duke expressing his further conviction to Lord Malmesbury, that, in the event of Addington waiving his claims in favour of Pitt, not only would his Majesty offer no objection to the return of the latter to the treasury, but that it would "be very agreeable" to the king.

Very different is the language in which we find Fox alluding to the possible return of his great rival to power. "There is some talk of Pitt," he writes to Lord Lauderdale, on the 1st of April, "but, I believe, all idle. He knows his insignificance, and does not like showing it." "If the country," had been the language of Pitt four months previously, "desires to lower itself to Fox and to the disgraceful level to which Fox is dis-

posed it should sink, he is the only proper man to govern it."

When Parliament reassembled after the Christmas recess, Pitt was still missing from his accustomed seat in the House of Commons, behind the treasury bench. His motives for absenting himself from Parliament were doubtless those which Lord Stanhope has pointed out. Dissatisfied with Addington's foreign, no less than with his financial policy, he must either have supported the government contrary to his conscientious convictions, or else he must have run the risk of weakening, if not overthrowing, the administration, at a most critical time, when the chances of peace or war were evenly balanced in the scales.

Pitt was still absent from Parliament, when, on the 20th of March, he received a visit from his old friend and colleague, Henry Dundas, recently created Viscount Melville, who came, by Addington's express desire, to urge him to join his administration. Whether, in taking this step, Addington was actuated by no other consideration than a growing sense of the weakness of his position, or whether, as has been supposed, he was influenced by the further object of preventing an exposure of his financial miscalculations, which would in all probability have been the consequence of Pitt taking a decidedly hostile part against the government, are questions of no very material importance. Suffi-

cient it is to state, that, at the first favourable opportunity "after dinner and port wine," Lord Melville "began cautiously to open his proposals." To a statesman who, like Pitt, had for seventeen years enjoyed almost unlimited power as first minister of the Crown, those proposals must have appeared astoundingly unsatisfactory. Addington, it was suggested, should exchange the premiership for one of the secretaryships of state. Pitt, also, was to be a secretary of state, or, if he preferred it, chancellor of the exchequer; a third person, apparently Lord Chatham, was to be a cipher at the head of the administration. Such conditions as these, it is needless, perhaps, to remark, were unhesitatingly rejected. Pitt listened to them with astonishment. "Dundas," writes Wilberforce, "saw it would not do, and stopped abruptly. 'Really,' said Pitt, with a sly severity, — and it was almost the only sharp thing I ever heard him say of any friend, — 'I had not the curiosity to ask what I was to be.'" [1]

Addington, though disappointed at the result of Lord Melville's mission, was not disheartened. Accordingly, another common friend, Mr. Long, repaired to Walmer Castle, bearing with him a verbal message from Addington to the effect that

[1] The words in the text must be accepted with some modification. Pitt certainly listened to everything that Lord Melville had to say, though very probably with as little patience as satisfaction.

he was ready to resign the premiership to Pitt, by accepting the post of secretary of state, provided there should be no sweeping change in the administration. With this restriction, however, as Pitt clearly explained to Addington, when, the following evening, they met by appointment at Bromley Hill, he would on no account comply. As he told Rose, he would either return to office as first lord of the treasury, and to all intents and purposes as prime minister, or not at all. "There must be a general sweep," he intimated to Addington, "and the change must be by the king's desire, and with the recommendation of the king's present confidential servants." Under these circumstances the interview of the 10th of April, from which Pitt's friends had anticipated so much, terminated to the satisfaction of neither party. Addington, indeed, expressed his intention of consulting his friends before giving a definite reply to Pitt's propositions; but as loss of office was certain to be the consequence of a dissolution of the government, it was very unlikely that they should recommend their leader to take so suicidal a step. And so it proved. On the 14th, Addington addressed a letter to Pitt, in which he closed the negotiations by intimating to him in civil terms, that his colleagues saw no reason for the changes in the administration being carried so far as had been insisted upon. To this communication the following laconic reply was returned by Pitt:

"BROMLEY HILL, April 14, 1803.

"MY DEAR SIR:—I need only acknowledge the receipt of your letter, and am

"Yours sincerely,

"W. PITT."

Thus, with strong feelings of irritation on both sides, was, for a considerable time, interrupted the long intimacy which had existed between Pitt and Addington. It was evident, as Lord Malmesbury observes, that Addington thought Pitt had held too high and imperious a language; while, on the other hand, Pitt seems to have thought he had been trifled with by Addington. "Mr. Addington," writes Lord Colchester, "having never deviated from the strictest sincerity in his respect and affection for Mr. Pitt, felt himself highly offended by the repulse which he met with at Bromley Hill." Other circumstances subsequently tended to widen the breach between them. "Then came a dispute," writes Lord Macaulay, "such as often arises after negotiations orally conducted, even when the negotiators are men of strict honour. Pitt gave one account of what had passed, Addington gave another; and though the discrepancies were not such as necessarily implied any intentional violation of truth on either side, both were greatly exasperated."

In the meantime, while the play of "Hamlet" was being rehearsed at Walmer Castle and at Bromley

Hill, the character of Hamlet had been unaccountably omitted. While Pitt and Addington had been employed in arranging the *dramatis personæ* of a new Cabinet, the king, deeply interested as he was in the matter, had been kept in the profoundest ignorance of their unconstitutional negotiations. "It was not," as Sir George Lewis writes, "a mere question of changing a Cabinet office, as to which a prime minister might properly make a preliminary arrangement, subject to the king's confirmation. It was practically a negotiation for a complete alteration of the character of the government; and the whole discussion proceeded on the assumption that Addington and Pitt were between them to settle who was to be the new prime minister." The king, on being at length informed of what had passed, was naturally extremely hurt and offended with both statesmen. But it was Pitt who, however undeservedly, suffered the most in his estimation. Yet assuredly Pitt was the least to blame of the two. He would scarcely, we imagine, have gone to the lengths which he had done in his treaty with Addington, unless he had believed that the king was privately cognisant of the negotiation. "Mr. Addington," writes Rose, on the 8th of April, "stated by Mr. Long that the king has not yet been apprised of any new arrangement in the government: this Mr. Pitt does not believe." At all events, we find him, throughout the negotiations, manifesting every desire to con-

sult the king's feelings and the dignity of the kingly office. For instance, in an interview with Mr. Long, on the 5th of April, he expresses his "fixed intention" to listen to no proposal which had not been "made by the king's authority and with his Majesty's previous knowledge." Again, in his interview with Addington, on the 10th, we find him intimating to him that whatever "conditions or stipulations" may be discussed between them must be "considered merely as common conversation." "He must be fully acquainted," he added, "with his Majesty's pleasure before he could say a word or pronounce a name which should be considered as binding." He would "in future," he declared, at the close of the negotiations, "receive no overtures but such as might be made by the express command of his Majesty." Rose, also, to whom the whole of the written correspondence was shown by Pitt, informs us that it established, "beyond all possibility of controversy," the fact that Pitt "refused, peremptorily, to accede to any terms, or to propose any definite ones, till he knew whether his Majesty was really desirous of his return to office; and further, that it had never entered his mind for one moment to make the admission of any individual whatever into the cabinet as *sine quâ non*." It was a principle which he had constantly maintained, said Pitt to Rose, that a change of administration should on no account be forced upon the king. He was aware

how fatal might be the consequences which such a step might produce on his Majesty's mind; he was resolved, therefore, not to come into office unless his return could be accomplished without in the smallest degree affecting the king's health, comfort, and tranquillity; and he added that, in thus feeling and expressing himself, he was doing "little more than feeling and speaking as a gentleman." Under these circumstances, a few explanatory words from Addington might have exculpated Pitt from much of the blame which the king laid at his door, but, so far from those words having been spoken, not only did Pitt's friends charge Addington with "telling his story in his own way," but, according to high authority, the latter "represented Pitt's conduct in such colours as to rouse the king's wrath." How greatly the king was offended, was manifested by the language which escaped him after his levee on the 20th of April; this being the day on which Addington had for the first time thought proper to communicate to him what had taken place between him and Pitt. He even went so far, on returning to the royal closet, to talk to such of his ministers as were present, of Mr. Pitt's "putting the crown in commission," adding that "he [Pitt] carried his plan of removals so extremely far and so high that it might reach him."

It was under these circumstances that Pitt was urged by his friends either to request a personal interview in the royal closet, or else to address

such a letter to his Majesty, as might have the effect of removing any unfavourable impressions from his mind. To both of these proposals, however, he "pertinaciously objected," choosing rather to prefer a request to Addington to lay their late correspondence before their royal master, — a fair request, which the other, only after considerable delay, and with manifest reluctance, was induced to comply with. "Pitt," writes Lord Malmesbury, "at the repeated desire of his friends, on the 25th again pressed Addington to lay his letter before the king. Addington did not do it till the 27th, at the Queen's House, and then probably without any remarks, or with his own notes." Great, almost absolute, as had been Pitt's former power, he was now apparently without a single friend to whose tact and influence combined he could trust to setting him right in the good opinion of his sovereign. Even the Duke of York, who a few days previously had been one of the most zealous of his partisans, contented himself, when appealed to by Lord Malmesbury, with shrugging his shoulders and remarking that in his private opinion "both parties were in the wrong." So ill-managed, added the duke, had been the recent negotiation, as "to put Mr. Pitt's return to office, though more necessary than ever, at a greater distance than ever." As regards the king, when Addington was at length induced to lay the correspondence before him, he very naturally and very positively declined reading

the details of a negotiation which had not only been carried on without either his sanction or knowledge, but which, having signally failed, was no longer of any importance either to his own interests or to those of his subjects, and which, in fact, was an unwarrantable interference with his prerogative. To Lord Pelham he observed: "It is a foolish business from one end to the other; it was begun ill, conducted ill, and terminated ill." Not that we are to presume that the king's temporary dissatisfaction with Pitt would have stood in the way of his consenting to take him back as his first minister, in the event of Addington proving more pliable or more patriotic. On the contrary, it was the conviction of the Duke of York that Addington's friends had only to persuade their leader how urgently the interests of the country stood in need of the splendid abilities and experience of Mr. Pitt, and the change would prove "very agreeable" to the king.

The following resumed correspondence of George the Third continues, like most of his previous letters, to throw an interesting light upon his character and conduct:

The King to Lord Eldon.

"QUEEN'S PALACE, March 24, 1802.

"The king is concerned to find the lord chancellor is by illness confined to his house, but trusts

that by a little attention that will soon effect the return of health.

"Perhaps the great regard the Marquess Cornwallis expresses for the delicate feelings of the first consul does not meet more with the approbation of Lord Eldon than it does with that of the king, who fairly confesses that the British plenipotentiary ought to attend to the honour of his own court, not to be the advocate of France.

"GEORGE R."

The King to Lord Eldon.

"WINDSOR, April 15, 1802.

"The king returns the commission for passing the bill this day to the lord chancellor, having signed it. He at the same time expresses a most sincere wish that the recess may be crowned with the restoration of the lord chancellor's health, and strongly recommends that he will not, at first coming out, be quite so assiduous as he was in business before his confinement, to which he rather attributes the duration of the fit of the gout.

"GEORGE R."

The King to Lord Eldon.

"QUEEN'S PALACE, April 30, 1802.

"The king returns to the lord chancellor the commission, which he has signed, for giving his assent to the bills now prepared for that purpose. At the same time, the king avails himself of the

opportunity to express the satisfaction he receives from the assurance of the lord chancellor's gout having entirely subsided. That a degree of lameness and weakness still remains is the natural effect of the disorder, but will daily diminish; and the king therefore strongly recommends the lord chancellor not coming next Wednesday to St. James's, but the coming here on Thursday for the recorder's report, which will avoid the necessity of going up-stairs; and Wednesday is the first day of term, which must, in itself, be a day of some fatigue. GEORGE R."

The King to Lord Eldon.

"WEYMOUTH, August 14, 1802.

"Yesterday the king received the lord chancellor's letter. He trusts that the fatigue of sitting in this warm weather in Lincoln's Inn Hall has not proved so inconvenient as might have been expected. The king is much pleased at Doctor Ridley's being placed in the Isle of Wight. His being of the family of so celebrated a man as the bishop that bore that name, in addition to his connection with the lord chancellor, very properly entitles him to that situation. GEORGE R."

The preceding letter, it will be seen, is dated from Weymouth, at which place the royal family passed part of the summer of 1802, and from whence they returned to Windsor on the 1st of

September. During the king's stay at Weymouth, the only incident of any interest which seems to have occurred was a visit of respect paid to him by the lords of the admiralty, in the course of their visitation-tour to the different dockyards. "After an early breakfast," writes their secretary, Mr. Marsden, "we met him, by command, on the Esplanade, where I was introduced in a less formal manner than at St. James's. We then attended him to church, and were seated in the adjoining pew. Again we walked on the Parade till near dinner-time. In the evening we attended the Parade once more, when the troops were drawn out, and military music performed; after which we followed their Majesties to the public rooms, thus concluding a most courtly and rather fatiguing day. In the course of conversation, the king asked my opinion as to the cause of the foulness so generally and justly complained of in respect to the copper sheathing of the ships-of-war in later times, compared with what was experienced at an earlier period. The subject having occupied a large share of my attention, I did not hesitate to attribute the change to the greater degree of hardness given to the copper sheets in the process of rolling by the modern improved machinery; the hammered plates being softer, and therefore more liable to abrasion in the passage of the ship through the water, by which the bottom, as in the case of fast-sailing cutters,

might be kept comparatively clean. His Majesty appeared to be satisfied with the plausibility, at least, of my argument." "Upon the Esplanade," Marsden writes to a correspondent, "I was presented to the king in due form. He asked me immediately how long I was returned from Ireland, as if my journey had been a thing his Majesty was well acquainted with. At the rooms this evening the king told me he believed I was a great chymist, though I did not choose to confess it. We were talking about copper sheathing."

The following complete our selections from the king's correspondence in the years 1802 and 1803 :

The King to Lord Eldon.

"WINDSOR, October 27, 1802.

"The king has received the lord chancellor's note on the election of Mr. Alderman Price to the office of lord mayor for the ensuing year. He has ever understood that this gentleman's conduct, both in private and public life, is deserving the character given him on this occasion by the lord chancellor. His Majesty therefore most willingly authorises the giving his approbation to this choice of the City of London.

"GEORGE R."

The King to Lord Eldon.

"WINDSOR, November 13, 1802.

"The king returns the commission for opening the Parliament, which he has signed, and at the

same time authorises the lord chancellor to approve Mr. Abbot as Speaker of the House of Commons when presented for that purpose. Having had the curiosity of reading the commission, [the king] has found a mistake, the insertion of George, Earl of Leicester, instead of William, Earl of Dartmouth, as lord steward of the household, which can easily be corrected by the lord chancellor ordering this change of names, though the king has signed the commission.

"GEORGE R."

The King to Lord Eldon.

"QUEEN'S PALACE, February 8, 1803.

"The king has this morning received the lord chancellor's note, enclosing a fiat for adding Mr. Sergeant Palmer to the judges on the Midland Circuit, in consequence of the chief baron's going to Lisbon with his eldest daughter, whose health requires the change of climate. The king returns the fiat, having signed it, and desires the lord chancellor will acquaint the chief baron how ardently he wishes that the sea voyage and mild air of Lisbon may prove advantageous to the young lady. GEORGE R."

The King to Lord Eldon.

"WINDSOR, February 27, 1803.

"The king has with great satisfaction signed the commission for passing the bill to restrain

the Bank of England from paying cash, as he is convinced of the utility of the measure and ardently hopes it may be prolonged the next year; or, if the situation of public affairs should at that time prove more favourable, that the bank will at least be restrained from paying cash above a certain proportion of each payment it may have to issue.

GEORGE R."

CHAPTER III.

Interview between the King and Lord Malmesbury — Despard's Conspiracy — Prince of Wales's Debts — Renewal of War with France — Splendid Speeches of Pitt and Fox on the Subject — Napoleon's Threatened Invasion of Great Britain — The King Reviews the Volunteers in Hyde Park — Intends to Engage the Enemy at the Head of His Army — The Prince of Wales a Candidate for High Military Command — Publishes His Correspondence with the King on the Subject — Hanover Taken by the French — Recollections of the King by Sir George Rose.

Among those persons who were admitted to familiar discourse with George the Third, and who have bequeathed us minutes of his conversation, may be mentioned the accomplished diplomatist, James, Earl of Malmesbury, who, on the 26th of November, 1801, was received at a private audience by the king and queen at Windsor, for the purpose of presenting them with copies of a new edition of the works of his lordship's late father, James Harris, the author of the celebrated "Hermes." "I saw them alone," he writes, "on the morning of the 26th, and was with them that and the next evening, at their card-party at the lodge. I likewise saw Princess Mary on the 27th in the morning. Each evening the queen named me of

George the Third.

Photo-etching after the painting by Sir Joshua Reynolds

her party and played at cribbage with me. I was with the king alone near two hours. I had not seen his Majesty since the end of October, 1800, of course not since his last illness. He appeared rather more of an old man, but not older than men at his age commonly appear. He stooped rather more, and was apparently less firm on his legs, but he did not look thinner, nor were there any marks of sickness or decline in his countenance or manner. These last were much as usual, somewhat less hurried and more conversable; that is to say, allowing the person to whom he addressed himself more time to answer and talk than he used to do when discoursing on common subjects, [or] on public and grave ones. I at all times, for thirty years, have found him very attentive, and full as ready to hear as to give an opinion, though perhaps not always disposed to adopt it and forsake his own. He was gracious even to kindness, and spoke of my father in a way which quite affected me. He expressed great satisfaction at seeing me less ill than he expected; asked how I continued to keep well; and on my saying, among other reasons, that I endeavoured to keep my mind quiet and dismiss all unpleasant subjects from intruding themselves upon it, the king said, 'Tis a very wise maxim, and one I am determined to follow; but how at this particular moment can you avoid it?' And without waiting, he went on by saying, 'Do you know what I call the peace? — an exper-

imental peace, for it is nothing else. I am sure you think so, and perhaps do not give it so gentle a name. But it was unavoidable. I was abandoned by everybody, allies and all. I have done, I conscientiously believe, for the best, because I could not do otherwise. But, had I found more opinions like mine, better might have been done.' I thought the subject might agitate the king, and therefore tried to lead him from it. He perceived my drift, and said, 'Lord Malmesbury, you and I have lived on the active theatre of this world these thirty years. If we are not become wise enough to consider every event which happens, quietly and with acquiescence, we have lived very negligently. What would the good man who wrote these excellent books' — pointing to the copy I had just presented to him of my father's works, and which lay on the table — 'say if we were such bad philosophers, having had such means of becoming good ones?'"

"His Majesty," continues Lord Malmesbury, "expressed resentment against Lord Grenville, spoke friendly of Pitt, and slightingly of Lord Hawkesbury. 'He has no head for business,' said the king, 'no method, no punctuality.' Of the Prince of Orange he said he was at the bottom a good man, but with some sad defects. That he had left the country very rapidly, and asked me if I knew the cause. Now I did know why, but thought it wiser not to say so. Of the princess

he spoke in terms of the highest commendation; also of Fagel, the present greffier. Of Nagel, he said he was a very good courtier, but not a man of business. His Majesty here is mistaken. He asked me a great deal about Russia; mentioned Lord Auckland with no great praise. Of Lord Pelham,[1] he said he was likely to be a good man of business, and was glad Fitzharris[2] was under him. Inquired about Alfred; if I still meant him for the church, and if it still was his own choice.[3] Of Lord Minto, that he was grown more conversable, and had done vastly well at Vienna. Of the emperor he expressed but a mean opinion.

"The queen kept me only a quarter of an hour. She said she should see me again in the evening, as I must be tired with standing so long with the king. Spoke kindly of my father and of my dear children. Princess Mary was all good humour and pleasantness. Her manners are perfect, and I never saw or conversed with any princess so exactly what she ought to be."

On the 7th of February, 1803, stood at the

[1] Thomas, Lord Pelham, secretary of state for the home department.

[2] James Edward, Viscount Fitzharris, at this time apparently private secretary to Lord Pelham. He succeeded his father, in 1820, as second Earl of Malmesbury, and died on the 10th of September, 1841.

[3] The Hon. Thomas Alfred Harris, second son of Lord Malmesbury. He subsequently entered into holy orders, became a prebendary of York, and died in 1823.

bar of the Sessions House, Newington, Col. Edward Marcus Despard, arraigned, with other infatuated and desperate men, for having conspired to subvert the government by force of arms, and to take away the life of the king. Reduced to penury by having been suddenly deprived of an office which he had held on the coast of Honduras, and goaded almost to frenzy by having been subjected to a long and arbitrary imprisonment in Cold Bath Fields Prison without having been able to obtain a trial, this once gallant soldier and loyal subject engaged in the wild conspiracy which unhappily cost him his life. The chief atrocities comprised in the programme of the conspirators, consisted in the seizure of the Tower, the bank, the prisons, and the public offices. The piece of ordnance also, on the north side of St. James's Park, then a recent capture from the French army in Egypt, was to have been loaded either with ball or chain-shot, and to have been fired at the king on his way in his state coach to open Parliament. As regards Despard personally, the facts of his undisputed gallantry, his sufferings, and questionable sanity, invested him with a certain amount of commiseration, which he would not otherwise have obtained. In the expedition up the river San Juan, in 1779, which Lord Nelson always described as one of the most hazardous in which he had ever been engaged, Despard had been his friend and companion. Side by side they had stormed the

same battery, and together had entered the castle of San Juan in triumph. At Despard's trial, Nelson came forward to bear testimony on his behalf. "We went," proceeds his evidence, "on the Spanish main together. We spent many nights together in our clothes upon the ground. We have measured the height of the enemy's wall together. In all that period of time no man could have shown more zealous attachment to his sovereign and his country than Colonel Despard did." Nelson's encomiums, however, proved of little service to his former comrade. On the 21st of February, Despard, with six others of his fellow conspirators, stood under the gibbet on the roof of Horsemonger Lane Gaol, where they were severally launched into eternity. To the last he persisted in asserting his innocence; to the last he declaimed against the tyranny of kings. The day would inevitably arrive, he told an huzzaing audience, which would witness the "final triumph of the principles of liberty, justice, and humanity, over despotism and delusion." When subsequently the hangman held up his severed head, exclaiming, "This is the head of a traitor!" the cheers of the rabble were converted into hisses and yellings against the authorities.[1] It was about this time that the Prince

[1] "You will, of course," writes Fox to Lord Holland, "have heard of Despard's execution. It was generally thought right; indeed, I question whether I am not the only man in London who would have advised a pardon, but I would have done so. The whole business has produced little or no sensation."

of Wales had again the hardihood to apply to Parliament for the payment of fresh debts; debts which, as Pitt describes them to Rose, he had "contracted in the teeth of the last act of Parliament, and in breach of repeated and positive promises." Fortunately, however, for him, the facile Addington was not unwilling to gratify the heir to the monarchy; while Fox, on his part, had the assurance to tell the House of Commons that so far from the prince having squandered his means, he actually deserved credit for having practised economy. Thus was the royal voluptuary enabled to wring from the country a further allowance of £60,000 a year for three years and a half to come. Pitt probably had the prince's debts in view, when, after congratulating Lord Malmesbury on the commercial prosperity of the country, he added, laughingly, "And to make us quite gentlemen, we have a debt as large as all Europe." [1]

[1] "*Friday, February 18th*," writes Lord Malmesbury, "Lord Pelham with me before twelve. Nothing new to communicate. Prince of Wales's debts — that is to say, the sum remaining unpaid since the arrangement made with him in 1795 — to be paid. Many new debts, illegally contracted by him, and at the risk of those who trusted him, will still exist." "The whole," adds Lord Malmesbury, "will evidently be squandered away in the same way he has hitherto lived in, without his assuming any one single exterior mark of royalty or splendour, to prove that he and his hangers-on do not consider it a farce." "The prince's business," writes Fox, on the 23d of February, "comes on to-day. He is to get a great deal, but not enough to set him quite clear, which is very foolish; but that is the way these things are always done."

Another accomplished nobleman, who, from his residing at Cooper's Hill in the neighbourhood of Windsor, was at this period thrown a good deal into the king's society, was Morton Eden, Lord Henley, whose diplomatic services at most of the courts of Europe had obtained for him the distinction of Knight Commander of the Bath in 1793, and subsequently the peerage in 1799.[1] Like many other statesmen of the day, he seems to have been originally imbued with strong prejudices against George the Third; prejudices, however, which, on making the closer acquaintance of his sovereign, became converted into admiration and esteem. To his brother, Lord Auckland, for instance, Lord Henley writes from Cooper's Hill toward the close of 1802: "I am just returned from the terrace, which was honoured with the presence of the queen, as well as with that of the king. On Wednesday his Majesty will have a levee at St. James's, and in the evening go to Kew, where he will be met by the queen and princesses. There will not be a drawing-room, as Lady Dartmouth suspected, but they will remain at Kew till Friday, when his Majesty, on his way back to Windsor, will review the Scotch Grays on Ashford Common. I had the honour of attending him some hours yesterday in his ride, and had a long, pleasing conversation with him; and, setting

[1] Lord Henley died Dec. 6, 1830, at the age of seventy-eight.

aside all courtiership, I can safely say that the more I see of him the more reason I see to love and honour him."

The prediction which the king had hazarded, that the peace would turn out to be a merely "experimental" one, unfortunately proved to be only too correct. So unmistakable became the signs of an encroaching and grasping policy on the part of France, moreover such was the personal arrogance of Napoleon, and such the indignities offered by him to the British Crown and the British people, that in the opinion even of the most zealous advocates of peace, further endurance was no longer either honourable or safe. "Britain," was the insolent boast of the first consul to the English ambassador, "cannot contend alone against France." A renewal of hostilities had in fact become inevitable. Accordingly, on the 8th of March, a royal message, of so hostile a character as to be considered the precursor of war, was delivered to Parliament; on the 16th of May another royal message announced that the British ambassador, Lord Whitworth, had received orders to quit Paris, and on the following day were issued an order in Council directing reprisals against the goods and subjects of France, and a proclamation declaring an embargo on all French ships in British ports.

Exactly a week after the date of the last message from the throne, there commenced in the

House of Commons a debate on the subject of peace or war, which, inasmuch as Pitt had signified his intention of taking a part in it after his long absence, had been looked forward to with the greatest impatience. Pitt, on the one hand, though still personally incensed against Addington, was nevertheless prepared to defend his present hostile attitude toward France; while Fox and his friends, on the other hand, believing that, by the exercise of due discretion and moderation, war might yet be averted, were resolved to oppose it to the last.

The reappearance of Pitt in Parliament, as his stiff and erect figure moved slowly up the House of Commons to his accustomed seat behind the treasury bench, proved the signal for general curiosity and remark. Since the time when he had last addressed that assembly there had been a general election, on which occasion, so large a number of new members had been returned to Parliament, that it was computed that not fewer than two hundred of those who now were present were strangers to his wonderful eloquence. Never, perhaps, on any similar occasion had expectation run higher; yet, high as it ran, it was destined not to be disappointed. The first time that he addressed the House, the result was a complete and brilliant triumph. "Pitt's speech on the 23d," writes Lord Malmesbury, "was the finest he ever made. Never was any speech so cheered, or such incessant and loud applause." Mr. Ward, afterward Earl

of Dudley, also writes: "Erskine and Whitbread were heard with impatience, and when, at the end of a tedious hour and a half, he rose, there was a violent and almost universal cry of 'Mr. Pitt! Mr. Pitt!' He was then cheered before he uttered a syllable, — a mark of approbation which was repeated at almost all the brilliant passages and remarkable sentiments; and when he sat down, there followed three of the longest, most eager, and most enthusiastic bursts of applause I ever heard in any place on any occasion. Fox, with his usual generosity, was loud in his praise of his rival's marvellous eloquence. It was a speech, he told the House, which, if Demosthenes had been present, "he must have admired, and might have envied." Privately to his friends, Fox expressed the same opinion. "Pitt's speech," he writes to Lord Holland, "was admired very much and very justly. I think it was the best he ever made in that style." [1]

If Pitt's eloquence on this occasion was capable of being surpassed by that of any living British statesman, it was unquestionably by the magnificent oration which, on the following day, Fox himself delivered before the same assembly. "By all the accounts I have collected," writes Horner, "both

[1] Unfortunately, owing to a new arrangement of the Speaker's, which temporarily excluded the shorthand writers from the House of Commons, this speech, in its entire state, has been lost to posterity.

Pitt and Fox made a very great display. Pitt's peroration was a complete half-hour of his most powerful declamation, not lowered in its tone for a moment. Fox's speech was quite of a different cast, and not at all in the tone which he usually adopts. No high notes, no impassioned bursts; but calm, subtle, argumentative pleasantry. He very seldom attempts to keep the House laughing; but in this speech, I understand, it was evidently his design throughout, and Mackintosh says he never heard so much wit." "In the debate," writes the Speaker, Abbot, "Mr. Fox spoke from ten o'clock till one, and in these three hours delivered a speech of more art, eloquence, wit, and mischief, than I remember to have heard from him." [1] Mr. Ward, then a young man in his twenty-third year, quitted the House apparently quite as much enchanted with Fox's speech as on the previous evening he had been with that of Pitt. "Fox's speech," he writes, "was, I think, a far greater effort of mind. It was much the best I ever heard from him, and stands immediately next to the greatest among those of his antagonist. It was free from his usual and lamentable fault of repetition. Every one seemed to agree that he outdid himself." Fox himself thought well of his own performance. "I dare say," he writes to Lord Holland, "you have heard puffs enough of my speech upon the address,

[1] Lord Malmesbury also refers to Fox's speech as having been "very mischievous."

so that I need not add my mite. But the truth is that it was my best."

Addington, in the meantime, cast into the shade by the brilliant abilities displayed by his two illustrious contemporaries, had not only "spoken very poorly" in the course of the debate, but from other causes began to find his weight and popularity gradually decreasing. The world, for instance, had begun to regard him as a mere minister of sufferance. Pitt, though he had upheld his war policy, had maintained so ominous a silence on the subject of the general conduct of ministers, that, as Lord Malmesbury observes, society construed it into a "negative censure." At any moment an adverse shuffle of the political cards might occasion a reciprocity of action between Pitt and the "old" and "new" oppositions, and thus send Addington back to his former comparatively insignificant position. Nevertheless, during the next twelve months, — and those twelve months, be it remembered, being amongst the most critical in the annals of England, — Addington and his friends were enabled, consequent on the divided state of parties, to remain in the steady possession of their places. That they carried on the government at all, during that time, was of itself an achievement. Not only was England at war with France; not only had ministers to contend against the insatiable ambition, and transcendent genius, of Napoleon; but that extraordinary man, burning to avenge the disgraces of

Cressy and Agincourt, and the master of military resources as vast as had been wielded by Julius Cæsar, was busily preparing to put in force his long-cherished project of conquering Great Britain. Before the winter set in, he had made preparations on a gigantic scale. Opposite the coast of Kent was encamped an army of one hundred thousand men, while at Boulogne and in other ports was distributed a vast flotilla of gunboats, for the purpose of conveying his battalions to England. A single battle, he calculated, would place the British capital at his mercy.

On the other hand, Great Britain was not unprepared for the threatened contest. Not only were her fleets more powerful than those of France, but so high ran the spirit of resistance throughout the country, that before the close of the year the volunteer and yeomanry corps, independent of the regular army, were computed as numbering nearly three hundred and eighty thousand men. Camps were formed in different parts of the country which the king delighted to visit in person, and where he invariably met with the most enthusiastic receptions. The country, in fact, rose almost as one man to resist the invader; the old vying with the young in arming for the defence of their homes. Rose, for instance, mentions his having been the guest of Mr. Pitt at a dinner given by the elder brethren of the Trinity House, every one of whom had enrolled himself as a volunteer. "The sight,"

he writes, "was really an extremely affecting one; a number of gallant and exceedingly good old men, who had during the best part of their lives been beating the waves, now coming forward with the zeal and spirit of lads, swearing allegiance to the king with a determined purpose to act manfully in his defence, and for the protection of the capital on the river." In aid of the same good cause, the clergy raised their voices in the pulpit, and the poets penned their inspiration. Already Campbell had composed, what Washington Irving styles that "exquisite gem," "Ye Mariners of England!" —

"Britannia needs no bulwarks,
No towers along the steep;[1]
Her march is o'er the mountain-waves,
Her home is on the deep."

Wordsworth followed with his fine sonnets breathing a noble spirit of resistance,[2] while thus Walter Scott sang to his fellow-citizens in the North:

"If ever breath of British gale
Shall fan the Tricolour,
Or footstep of invaders rude,
With rapine foul and red with blood,
Pollute our happy shore,

[1] Campbell of course alludes to the martello towers which were in the course of construction on the south and southeastern coasts of England.

[2] "Vanguard of Liberty! Ye men of Kent,
Ye children of a soil that doth advance
Its haughty brow against the coast of France,
Now is the time to prove your hardiment."

Then farewell home! and farewell friends!
Adieu each tender tie!
Resolved we mingle in the tide
Where charging squadrons furious ride
To conquer or to die."
— *Song to the Edinburgh Volunteers.*

Pitt, whose office of lord warden of the Cinque Ports placed him in a prominent post of responsibility and danger, proved himself a most ardent and energetic volunteer. "Pitt," writes his friend Wilberforce, on the 9th of August, "is about to take the command of three thousand volunteers as lord warden. I am uneasy at it. He does not engage on equal or common terms, and his spirit will lead him to be foremost in the battle; yet, as it is his proper post, one can say nothing against it."

"Come the consul whenever he will,
And he means it when Neptune is calmer,
Pitt will send him a d—— bitter pill,
From his fortress, the Castle of Walmer."
— *Peter Pindar.*

In the midst of this excitement, and while the country was in almost daily expectation of invasion, London, on the 26th of October, became a scene of a military display which, by those who bore a part in it, was ever spoken of with proud satisfaction. On that day, in the presence of about two hundred thousand spectators, George the Third reviewed in Hyde Park the volunteer corps of

London, amounting, it was said, in infantry and cavalry, to twelve thousand four hundred men under arms. Alighting from his carriage on entering the park, the king mounted his charger, and, amidst the cheers and benedictions of his subjects, presented himself in front of the long military line which had been drawn up to receive him. He was attended by his seven sons on horseback, and by the queen and princesses in open carriages. Among the spectators were the exiled princes of the house of Bourbon, with the exception of Louis the Eighteenth. "I think," writes Lord Eldon, "the finest sight I ever beheld was the great review in Hyde Park before the king, George the Third. The king, in passing, addressed Tom Erskine, who was colonel, asking him the name of his corps. He answered, "The Devil's Own." The Lincoln's Inn volunteers always went by the name of the Devil's Invincibles.

The king, on quitting the ground, was followed to the Queen's Palace by a vast multitude of people, who rent the air with their cheers and huzzas. Two days afterward a similar animated spectacle was presented in Hyde Park, on the occasion of the king reviewing the Westminster, Lambeth, and Southwark volunteers, to the number of between fourteen and fifteen thousand men. It may be mentioned that the total number of volunteers enrolled in London and its suburbs, at this time, was computed to be forty-six thousand.

There was, at this critical period, no individual in Great Britain whose patriotism rose higher or who was more determined to sacrifice his life for his country, if necessary, than the pious and high-spirited king. The fact is sufficiently well known that, had the invasion actually taken place, it was his intention to have taken the field and to have encountered the foe at the head of his army. "No human voice," writes Sir Walter Scott, "was more fit to call a nation to arms, for no man possessed more courage in his own person than George the Third." The arrangements, by which the king hoped to ensure the security of the queen and princesses, are explained by him in the following interesting letter:

The King to the Bishop of Worcester.

"WINDSOR, November 30, 1803.

"MY GOOD LORD: — It appears to me unlikely that the Bishop of Llandaff will have sent you a copy of the pamphlet he has just published, and much more so that you shall have purchased one of them. These reasons have induced me to forward the one he ordered to be put in my library. The political part has some merit if he had stopped there. But what he says on the Roman Catholic clergy of Ireland, and our great safeguards, the Test and Corporation Acts, is most improper, and in my mind criminal in a member of the Church

of England, and still more so coming from a bishop. Eminent talents and discretion are not always allied, and no stronger instance can be given than himself of the truth of that position.[1]

"We are here in daily expectation that Bonaparte will attempt his threatened invasion, but the chances against his success seem so many that it is wonderful he persists in it. I own I place that thorough dependence on the protection of divine Providence, that I cannot help thinking the usurper is encouraged to make the trial that his ill success may put an end to his wicked purposes. Should his troops effect a landing, I shall certainly put myself at the head of mine, and my other armed subjects, to repel them; but as it is impossible to foresee the events of such a conflict, should the enemy approach too near to Windsor, I shall think it right the queen and my daughters should cross the Severn, and shall send them to your episcopal palace at Worcester. By this hint I do not in the least mean they shall be any inconvenience to you, and shall send a proper servant

[1] The king refers to a speech which Bishop Watson had intended to deliver in the House of Lords, but which he subsequently preferred giving to the world in the shape of a pamphlet. Bishop Hurd thus refers to it in his answer to the king's letter: "Of the speech I had seen and known nothing but what a newspaper had told me; and that was too much, for it happened to be the obnoxious part which your Majesty mentions. Nothing could be less prudent at this time, or less necessary, I think, at any time."

and furniture for their accommodation. Should such an event arise, I certainly would rather that what I value most in life should remain during the conflict in your diocese and under your roof, than in any other place in the island.

"Believe me ever, my good lord,

"Most affectionately yours,

"GEORGE R.

"*To the Lord Bishop of Worcester.*"

So great a compliment from his sovereign could scarcely fail to prove most gratifying to the venerable prelate. "If it please God," he wrote back to the king, "that your Majesty be opposed to the attack of this daring adventurer, you will have your whole people ready to stand or fall with you, and divine Providence, I firmly believe, to be your protector and preserver. If the occasion should happen, which your Majesty's tender concern for those most nearly and dearly related to you suggests to your apprehension, my old and formerly so much honoured mansion at Worcester shall be ready to receive them, and in as good a condition as I can contrive. But your Majesty is pleased to add that if such an occasion should fall out, you would certainly rather what you value most in this life should remain during the conflict in my diocese and under my roof, than in any other place in the island. I must beg your Majesty's pardon if I feel myself too much impressed by a

sense of so much goodness to me, to make my acknowledgments for it."

Having ascertained the means by which, at this menacing period, the king hoped to secure the safety of those who were near and dear to him, we are next led to inquire what part he had intended to have himself taken, in the event of a French army effecting a landing in his dominions. Happily the following memoranda throw some interesting light on the subject:

"Lord Cornwallis to take the command of the central army, being the real reserve of the volunteers and all the producible force of the kingdom, in case the French made any impression on the coast.

"The king to move to Chelmsford if the landing was in Essex, or to Dartford if in Kent, taking with him Mr. Addington and Mr. Yorke of the Cabinet.

"The queen, etc., to remove to the palace at Worcester.

"The bank books to be moved to the Tower, and the duplicate books and treasure to the cathedral at Worcester in thirty wagons, under Sir Brook Watson's management, escorted from county to county by the volunteers.

"The merchants to shut up the Stock Exchange.

"The artillery and stores from Woolwich to be transported inland by the Grand Junction Canal.

"The press to be prohibited from publishing any account of the king's troops, or of the enemy, but by authority from the secretary of state, to be communicated officially twice a day to all newswriters indiscriminately who may apply for it; else their presses to be seized and their printers imprisoned.

"The Privy Council to be sitting in London, to issue all acts of government."

Among the persons who were most pressing in their applications to be employed against the enemy in the event of invasion was the Prince of Wales, who, not satisfied with the chances which he had of distinguishing himself as colonel of the 10th Light Dragoons, addressed urgent appeals to the king, to the Duke of York as commander-in-chief, and to the prime minister, to be appointed to some high and responsible military command. "I neither did," he writes to Addington, "or do presume on supposed talents as entitling me to such an appointment. I am aware I do not possess the experience of actual warfare. At the same time, I cannot regard myself as totally unqualified or deficient in military science, since I have long made the service my particular study." To the king also the prince writes: "Ought I not to come forward in a moment of unexampled difficulty and dangers? Ought I not to share in the glory of victory, when I have everything to lose by defeat? The highest places in

your Majesty's service are filled by the younger branches of the royal family. To me alone no place is assigned. I am not thought worthy to be even the junior major-general of your army." The prince had forgotten, perhaps, that his brother, the Duke of Clarence, had enrolled himself a private in the Teddington volunteers.

But, even assuming that the king and his ministers had been desirous to gratify the prince's wishes, it may be questioned whether, after the recent military shortcomings of the Duke of York in the Low Countries, the people of England would have submitted to a second prince of the blood being entrusted — especially in a crisis of great national peril — with important employment in the field. At all events, his request met with a refusal, and apparently on the most justifiable grounds. Not only, for instance, did his professional inexperience present a sufficient objection to his being appointed to a high command, but it appears, by a letter addressed to him by the Duke of York in 1795, on the occasion of his being appointed to the command of the 10th Light Dragoons, that he was then distinctly informed, by command of the king, that he was on no account to regard the army as a profession, nor to expect promotion to a higher rank than that of colonel. How determined the king continued to be on the subject, the following letter evinces:

The King to the Prince of Wales.

"WINDSOR, 7th August.

"MY DEAR SON: — Though I applaud your zeal and spirit, of which, I trust, no one can suppose any of my family wanting, yet, considering the repeated declarations I have made of my determination on your former applications to the same purpose, I had flattered myself to have heard no further on the subject. Should the implacable enemy so far succeed as to land, you will have an opportunity of showing your zeal at the head of your regiment. It will be the duty of every man to stand forward on such an occasion; and I shall certainly think it mine to set an example in defence of everything that is dear to me and to my people.

"I ever remain, my dear son,

"Your most affectionate father,

"GEORGE R."

The prince's letters on this occasion — which, had they been his own composition, would have been creditable to him — were at the time supposed to have been written by Sheridan. They are now, however, known to have been composed partly by Sir Robert Wilson and partly by Lord Hutchinson.[1] Sheridan, in fact, was not only opposed to

[1] The prince thought proper to publish the correspondence, including his father's letter to him, which naturally gave great offence to the king. The correspondence, which was first published in the *Morning Chronicle* of December 7, 1803, will be found reprinted in the "Annual Register" for that year, p. 364,

the prince's claims to be nominated to a high military command, but even hazarded the loss of the prince's friendship by resisting them when brought before Parliament. Whatever amount of offence, however, Sheridan may have given by his opposition, the prince's displeasure was evidently of no long duration. "I must write you one line," writes Fox to Lord Grey, "to tell you that I hear that on the very day I was writing my long letter to the prince, he and Sheridan were getting drunk *tête-à-tête*, and that the latter boasts that he had convinced his Royal Highness that all he had done was right. It is not the boast, — which may be all false, — but the dining *tête-à-tête* in the present circumstance which makes an impression on me." [1] It was to the credit of the Prince of Wales that when, shortly afterward, the office of receiver of the duchy of Cornwall became vacant by the death of Lord Elliot, he conferred it upon Sheri-

etc. The refusal of the prince's offer of his military services was more than once discussed in the House of Commons. "2d August," writes Lord Colchester, "Mr. Tyrwhitt and several other members urging the giving a forward station and distinguished rank to the Prince of Wales in the military arrangements; his Royal Highness having offered his services, which had not been accepted, and that he remained only a colonel, though the Duke of York was commander-in-chief, and each of his other brothers had the rank of a lieutenant-general." "9th December. Fox also declaimed upon the king's refusal of rank and command to the Prince of Wales."

[1] The dinner, it appears, took place at the Cocoa Tree Club, in St. James's Street.

dan. "It is satisfactory to me," writes Sheridan to the prime minister, "that this appointment gives me the title and opportunity of seeing the prince on trying occasions openly and in the face of day, and puts aside the mask of mystery and concealment."

The following brief extracts from Lord Malmesbury's Diaries are introduced, either on account of their having reference to the king personally, or else as bearing upon some event of interest which we have lately had occasion to record:

"*Feb. 13, 1803.* The king's composure on hearing of Despard's horrid designs was remarkable, and evinces a strength of mind, and tranquillity of conscience, that prove him to be the best of men.

"*Feb. 21st.* Despard and his associate traitors hanged at half-past eight. Hardened villains. Despard manifested neither fear, religion, nor remorse. Died, haranguing the mob, with a lie in his mouth; but it produced no effect. Lady Hamilton, — whom Lady Malmesbury met in the evening of this day at Lady Abercorn's, — after singing, etc., said she had gone to see poor Mrs. Despard in the morning. She did not know her, but she went to comfort her, and that she found her much better since the body had been brought back to her. This is the consequence of Nelson having spoken to his character.[1]

[1] Despard's remains, having been given up to his friends, were interred by them in the cemetery of St. Faith, on the south side of St. Paul's Cathedral.

"*March 24th.* Lord Moira came to Lord Pelham with a long string of intelligence from Bourdeaux. It went to prove that Bonaparte was decided to invade us, and that he had saved forty or sixty millions of livres for this purpose. That when he was told of the difficulties, he said: 'Oui, je les avoue; mais il y a tant de cabales et d'intrigues contre moi, qu'il n'y a que la conquête de l'Angleterre qui puisse réconcilier tous les esprits.'

"*March 26th.* From secret intelligence Bonaparte's hostile views on this country are made manifest. When told of the risks, he says: 'Oui, je les reconnois bien; mais que faut-il faire? Il y a tant de factieux, tant de dangers qui m'environnent. La conquête de l'Angleterre réunira bien les esprits. Il faut l'entreprendre.'

"King sent for Addington early in the morning to complain of the delay and slowness of his proceedings, and particularly of Lord Hawkesbury's inattention in not keeping him informed.

"*May 19th.* Installation of the Bath in the morning. Ball at Queen's House in the evening. The queen uncommonly gracious. King always good.

"*May 25th.* Duke of York came to me at five. Uneasy lest the duchess should be forced to sup at the same table with Mrs. Fitzherbert at the ball to be given by the Knights of the Bath on the 1st of June. Talks it over with me. Says the

king and queen will not hear of it. On the other side, he wishes to keep on terms with the prince. I say I will see Lord Henley, who manages this fête, and try to manage it so that there shall be two distinct tables; one for the prince, to which he is to invite; another for the duke and duchess, to which she is to invite her company.

"*June 4th.* King's birthday. Immense full drawing-room. Assembly in the evening at the Queen' House. King looking well and in spirits.

"*June 13th.* News arrives of the French having taken possession of Hanover; a council on it. The king comes to town on purpose. Receives the account of the loss of Hanover with great magnanimity and real kingliness of mind."

The surrender of Hanover to the French forces, commanded by General Mortier, had occurred on the 3d instant; Mortier taking up his residence in the electoral palace, upon which the king had recently expended fifty thousand pounds for the better accommodation of the viceroy, his youngest son, the Duke of Cambridge. "The loss of Hanover," writes Fox, "has, I am told, affected the king severely." We have the evidence, however, both of Lord Malmesbury and of Lord Henley, that the king bore his loss with singular equanimity. "I deferred," writes the latter from Cooper's Hill, on the 15th of June, "paying my duty to my royal neighbours till this morning. I went out for that purpose soon after three, and met

his Majesty, the Princesses Sophia and Amelia, the Dukes of Cumberland and Cambridge, with a numerous suite, just coming into the park. I rode with them nearly three hours, and found the king — God be praised! — well and in good spirits. Hanover was much spoken of, and though the king's mind must doubtless be greatly affected by the truly abominable conduct of the French, and the sufferings of his subjects, yet his good sense and religion prevent them from making too deep an impression on him. He was very gracious and very kind." "To-morrow," adds Lord Henley, "the royal family goes again to Ascot, whither Lady Henley and I, though agreeing perfectly with the queen that a race is a vulgar business, shall also of course go. On Wednesday they remove to Kew, and return to Windsor on the Friday."

The following pleasing recollections of George the Third are from the pen of the accomplished diplomatist, Sir George Rose, the son of the Right Honourable George Rose, whose diaries and letters have been so often referred to and quoted in these pages:

Sir George Rose to the Right Honourable John Wilson Croker.

(Extract.)

"5th February, 1845.

"You are quite right in your judgments in favour of George the Third and Mr. Pitt. Of

the latter I could say much from my father, who loved him as a child of his own, and of George the Third, oddly enough, from much personal intercourse during five or six years, when constantly hunting with him, and perhaps invariably called up to ride with him, unless I kept out of his way to get a gallop, which he evidently saw, and was not vexed at, and did not like me the less for it. I had been abroad young, was then in his service, was used to courts, and in Parliament, and he had a great regard for my father, and borrowed his house — keeping him in it — two or three times. He soon found that I did not seek any one thing but his society, for he had a marvellous sagacity; [that I] spoke the truth, and did it with some freedom, though very respectfully; and all this suited his just and manly mind. Events carried me from his neighbourhood, but I was affected lately, in reading, in papers of my father's, the expressions of the king's to him of his regard for me, whom he scarcely saw for the last years of his reign. I have very often rode hours by his side alone; for, living on the edge of the Great Park, I was constantly out with his staghounds and beagles. He often spoke with great freedom of men and things, and constantly of the past events of his reign; trying his own conduct over again, and asking why he did such and such a thing; and I never knew a case where his ingenuity and his con-

science had not led him to a more extensive view of different duties, and to a juster balance of them, than I could guess, or the world has given him credit for. High in his moral scale was the fulfilment of his obligations as a King of England according to the Constitution; and his knowledge of how such and such men would be actuated by connections, interest, etc., was deep and extensive. His courage was undaunted; his integrity unimpeachable. He was an extraordinary man. It was the coöperation of such a king and such a minister as Mr. Pitt that, under God, saved us from the French Revolution."

The Same to the Same.

(Extract.)

"12th February, 1845.

"I do not remember any notes of George the Third to my father, although he knew him so well that he twice or thrice borrowed his house, stipulating that he should remain in it as his guest, which led to much interesting conversation [with him], and to others with myself. The king held frequently conversations with me for hours, hunting together; talking most freely, and with more sagacity, fairness, and acuteness than I ever met with elsewhere in any man's talk. He at times surprised me: astonished to find one so gifted, and so exercising his gifts under all the disadvantages attending the education and entrance

into life of a king. It is too long a story to explain why his powers of mind were misapprehended and undervalued by the vulgar herd. I mean those who do not, or will not, think for themselves. His thoughts were earnest and just."

CHAPTER IV.

Return of the King's Mental Malady — Fox and the Grenville Party Unite against Addington — Pitt Attacks His Administration in Parliament — Proposed Coalition between Pitt and Fox — Pitt's Second Premiership — Conduct of the Prince of Wales — The King's Exclusion of Fox from the New Cabinet — Fox's Handsome Conduct on the Occasion — Lord Grenville and His Friends Refuse to Join Pitt's Ministry — Conduct of Lord Grenville.

In the meantime, Addington had for many months past been left in the comparatively tranquil possession of power and place. At any moment, indeed, a union of parties might have given a death-blow to his respectable administration, but as yet Pitt and Fox were still too much at variance to render such an event very probable. Moreover, besides the advantage derived by Addington from his reputation for private virtue and political integrity, he still retained the favour of his sovereign, and to some extent the confidence of his fellow countrymen. He was reproached, indeed, with unduly preferring his near relatives and friends to state appointments of profit and responsibility, but apparently the charge harmed him but little in the opinion of the public. "Addington's own connections," writes the Quar-

terly Reviewer, "had a share in the secondary offices to which their standing as public men hardly entitled them. Mr. Bragge, his brother-in-law, — then in his first Parliament, — was raised to the privy councillor's office of treasurer of the navy. His schoolfellow and intimate, Mr. Bond, — just come into Parliament, — was a lord of the treasury. So also was his cousin, Mr. Golding, who does not seem to have been in Parliament at all. Mr. Adams, another brother-in-law, was a lord of the admiralty."

But, calm as appeared to be the political horizon, a storm was already gathering. "Pitt," writes Fox to Grey, on the 17th of December, "is, I hear, more and more bitter against the ministers, and feels strongly what he deems the embarrassment of the situation. I am told he even expresses this sentiment — an openness not very usual with him — to some of his friends." Fox, in fact, who had continued to support Addington so late as the month of October, had begun to discover signs of veering around to the enemy. On the 30th of November he writes to General Fitzpatrick: "If the new opposition attack the general system of defence, I am determined to support them vigorously;" and again, before the close of December, we find him listening to overtures made to him by the Grenville party, of which the avowed object was a combined and systematic opposition to the administration.

Such was the state of political parties when, toward the middle of January, 1804, the king was seized with an attack of illness, which, before long, was followed, as on former unhappy occasions, by a temporary derangement of his reasoning faculties. Nevertheless, when, on the 18th, the Speaker wrote down his name at Buckingham House, he was informed that the king was so much better that in the course of the day he had been able to walk for an hour or two in the gardens behind the palace. "One day," writes Lord Eldon, "when I went to make my call of duty, Doctor Simmons, the medical attendant constantly there, represented to me the embarrassment he was exposed to, being persuaded that if his Majesty could have a walk frequently around the garden behind the house, it would be of the most essential benefit to him; that if he took his walk with the doctor or any of his attendants, he was overlooked from the windows of Grosvenor Place, and reports were circulated very contrary to the truth respecting his Majesty's mental health. That, on the other hand, his Majesty's family were afraid of accompanying him, and that he, the doctor, did not know how to act, as the walk was of vast importance to his Majesty's recovery. It was to me plain," continues Lord Eldon, "that he wished that I should offer to attend his Majesty and walk with him in the garden. I offered to do so if he thought it likely to be useful to the king.

He then went into the next room, where the king was, and I heard him say, 'Sir, the chancellor is come to take a walk with your Majesty, if your Majesty pleases to allow it.' 'With all my heart,' I overheard the king say, and he called for his hat and cane. We walked two or three times around Buckingham House gardens. There was at first a momentary hurry and incoherence in his Majesty's talk, but this did not endure two minutes. During the rest of the walk there was not the slightest aberration in his Majesty's conversation, and he gave me the history of every administration in his reign. When we returned into the house, his Majesty, laying down his hat and cane, placed his head upon my shoulder and burst into tears." Yet, on this very day, a false and painful report — propagated, according to the chancellor, for political purposes — was current in London that the king had been in such a state of rabid violence while walking in the gardens of Buckingham House, that his keepers had been compelled to drag him into the palace by force.

On the 24th of January the king himself thus reports the state of his health:

The King to Mr. Addington.

"QUEEN'S PALACE, January 24, 1804.

"The king has the satisfaction of acquainting Mr. Addington that the pain in the foot seems quite removed, but the swelling is still too great

to enable Sir Francis Milman to consent to the king's having a levee to-morrow at St. James's, which is therefore postponed to Wednesday, February 1st, and the drawing-room to Thursday, February 9th. The king will be very happy to have a Privy Council here to-morrow at two o'clock, and to receive any of the ministers that day, either previous or subsequent to the Privy Council, as may best suit them.

"GEORGE R."

Satisfactory as this communication must have appeared to the prime minister, it will nevertheless be seen by the following extracts from Lord Colchester's Diaries that the king's health continued, for some time to come, to fluctuate from better to worse, and from worse to better:

"*Feb. 14th.* The king, whose attack of the gout at first appeared to be slight, though it had never completely left him, appears to have been worse lately, and yesterday the fever was very high. He talked for five hours incessantly last night. His head at times much affected. He did not get to sleep till this morning.

"*15th.* The king to-day no better. On Thursday last [the 9th] he was apparently well at the Council. On Friday he is said to have drunk cold water and to have been worse since. Last night he slept two hours. His legs have swelled, but do not appear to have enlarged in the last twenty-

four hours. His pulse about eighty. His mind much affected, but his animal functions not deranged."

On this day, the 15th, Fox writes to Lord Grey: "The king is as ill as in the worst moments of 1788. I think I know this, and the bulletin, indeed, does not deny it. 'Much indisposed' yesterday, and 'much the same' to-day. Some are of opinion that his dissolution is certain and near; but though this is the general belief, I do not know that it is so well grounded as that of his derangement."

For two days his life was in danger. "On the 12th or 13th," writes Lord Malmesbury, "the king, after having taken cold by remaining in wet clothes longer than should be, had symptoms of gout. He could not attend on the queen's birthday, though he appeared in the evening at an assembly at the Queen's House. He was too lame to walk without a cane, and his manner struck me as so unusual and incoherent that I could not help remarking it to Lord Pelham, who, the next day, for I went away early, told me that he had, in consequence of my remark, attended to it, and that it was too plain the king was beginning to be unwell. Lord Pelham, who played that evening with the queen, added that her anxiety was manifest, since she never kept her eyes off the king during the whole time the party lasted."

On the 16th, when the Speaker called upon the

prime minister, he found the Cabinet sitting and "the physicians going into the room," and consequently was unable to obtain any accurate information in regard to the king's condition. On the following day, however, on the prime minister's authority, he reports as follows: "*17th.* Saw Mr. Addington for the first time since the king's illness. The king had foreseen his illness coming on, and had made arrangements in case of his death. For a short time he suffered a sort of paralysis, which created great apprehensions for his life; but there soon appeared no ground for that alarm. The disorder has now taken the decided character of a complete mental derangement. His health, however, is better now than it was at the commencement of his illness in 1801. The Willises have not yet been introduced; that remains to be done."[1]

The king, it seems, had conceived a morbid horror of being again attended by any member of the Willis family; his conviction being that during his former illnesses he had been treated by them with unnecessary severity. Accordingly, at his urgent desire, an eminent medical practitioner, Doctor

[1] "The king," writes Lord Malmesbury, "was exceedingly ill; in immense danger for forty-eight hours, on the 12th and 13th of January, but from this he recovered, and the mania, though it still remained, was by no means so strong as at former times. His constitution seemed weaker and to have suffered more; but his mind was never so completely alienated as in 1788 and in 1801."

Simmons, physician of St. Luke's Hospital,[1] was called in, and the royal patient delivered to his charge. "The king," writes Lord Colchester, on the 20th, "is recovering fast, and had yesterday a long interval of reason and composure, but has every day the strait-waistcoat. He has always expressed an opinion, when well, that the Willises used him with unnecessary rigour. He submits cheerfully to the restraints which he believes to be necessary, and is perfectly contented under the management of Doctor Simmons, of St. Luke's Hospital, who now attends him. Doctor Simmons says that relapses in this disorder are frequent, and many persons return to St. Luke's at intervals, but that the attack is always slighter upon each successive fit."

Most fortunate it was for the king's future comfort and happiness that he rallied from his malady so soon as he did, inasmuch as, had it lasted but a short time longer, a regency, as Pitt intimated to Lord Malmesbury, must inevitably have been appointed. "On my observing," writes the latter, "that the Prince of Wales had asserted that it must last several months, Pitt said:

"'Thy wish was father, Harry, to that thought.'"

[1] Samuel Foart Simmons, M. D., whom Lord Colchester styles Doctor Simmonds, and Lord Malmesbury Doctor Symonds, was born at Sandwich, in Kent, in 1750. He was a member of the Royal Society, and author of some medical and other works. His death took place on the 23d of April, 1813.

Again, Pitt writes to Lord Melville: "All the accounts which have reached Carlton House — or at least, between ourselves, which have come from thence — have uniformly represented the king's state as worse than in truth it has been, and cannot be reasoned upon without great allowance."

Nevertheless, the king's health, notwithstanding the prognostications of Carlton House, continued gradually to amend. So satisfactory, indeed, was the progress which he made, that on the 27th of February the physicians were enabled to intimate to the Cabinet that, though it was still advisable that his Majesty should avoid fatiguing arguments and discussions, yet he was perfectly competent to perform any act of government. The same day, not only was a much more favourable bulletin issued, but happily, on the 9th of the following month, the king, to the great satisfaction of his subjects, was well enough to be driven with the queen and princesses through the principal streets of London and Westminster.

It was soon after the king had been declared to be convalescent, but evidently while his mind was still in an enfeebled state, that, on Lord Eldon paying him a visit at Buckingham House, he took from a drawer a watch and chain which he had worn for twenty years, and desired him to accept and wear them for his sake. The chancellor, however, by whatever motives he may have been actuated, considered it his duty to decline them, on

which the king, evidently extremely angry and disconcerted, questioned him as to his reasons for disobeying him. "I told him," said the chancellor, "that there were people who envied me every mark of my sovereign's favour, and who would give an unfavourable construction to my receiving anything from him at that time; and therefore, greatly as I valued his gifts, under the circumstances I thought it was best to return the watch with the chain and seal." To these words the king returned no reply, but the degree to which he was affected by them was shown by his shedding tears.

Here the matter might be supposed to have ended, but such was not the case. Many months afterward, as Lord Eldon was sitting in the Court of Chancery, one of the messengers of the court placed before him a red box, on opening which he found it to contain the same watch and seal which the king had formerly offered him, with the addition of the following note:

The King to Lord Eldon.

"WINDSOR CASTLE, January 21, 1805.

"The king takes this opportunity of forwarding to the lord chancellor the watch he mentioned the last spring. It has undergone a thorough cleaning, and been left with the maker many months, that the accurateness of its going might be ascertained. Facing ten minutes there is a spring, if pressed by the nail, will open the glass for setting

the watch; or, turning the watch, pressing the back edge facing fifty minutes, the case opens for winding up. GEORGE R."

On the seal were engraved a figure of Religion looking up to heaven, and another figure of Justice without a bandage over its eyes. The motto was, "His dirige te." His illnesses, said the king to Lord Eldon at this time, had at least had one good effect, — that of enabling him to distinguish the difference between his real and pretended friends.

In the meantime, the assembling of Parliament, on the 1st of February, had been the signal for party hostilities to recommence, and for party animosities to return with augmented bitterness. For some time past, Fox and the Grenvilles had agreed upon a system of hostile operations, which required only the coöperation of Pitt to render the speedy annihilation of the Addington administration an inevitable consequence. Pitt, however, when "sounded" by them, had not only declined to unite in any organised opposition, but manifested so little eagerness to take any part in the onslaught, that it was not till many days after Parliament had reassembled that he made his appearance in the House of Commons. "I came with my family to town on the 8th of February," writes Lord Malmesbury; "I found the spirit of party very high, but Pitt still absent." Nevertheless, he was unquestionably preparing for a war to the knife with the

companion of his youth. "Pitt keeps aloof," writes Fox to Lord Holland, on the 19th of March; "but misses few opportunities of exposing the present men; and will, I am told, be inclined more and more to divide for any measure against them; but all this is very uncertain."

To Fox personally, Addington at this time seems to have grown scarcely less obnoxious than he had become to Pitt. Of the amiable minister whom he had so lately and so warmly supported, we now find him speaking with unequivocal contempt. To Lord Grey he writes, on the 15th of March: "You will perceive that the doctor is much weaker in numbers than one could have imagined; but it looks as if this was not so much owing to our strength, as to speculations among their friends concerning the king, and Pitt's ambiguous situation. However, it has this good effect, — that it makes him, the doctor, more and more contemned every day; indeed, the contempt, both with respect to the degree and universality of it, is beyond what was ever known." Again, Fox writes to Lord Lauderdale, on the 25th of March: "The doctor has exceeded, if possible, all his former lies in what he said about the Russian business. It is, I own, an ignoble chase, but I should have great pleasure in hunting down this ignoble fellow." To his other correspondents Fox is no less lavish of contemptuous expressions when speaking of Addington and his colleagues. To Grey he writes, on the

2d of April: "I really think the next six weeks must bring matters to a crisis both with respect to the king, and to the getting rid of these rascals."[1] And again he writes, on the 13th: "Let us first get rid of the doctor is my first principle of action, in which I reckon you as concurring with me as much as any one." Yet not only had no very long time elapsed since Fox had proposed to coalesce with Addington, but within two years he will be found sitting as a member of the same Cabinet with the "vile fellow" whom he was now so determined upon hunting down.

The sneers and invectives which were heaped by Fox upon Addington and his "rascally ministry," he lavished no less unsparingly upon Pitt. For instance, in a letter to Fitzpatrick, dated the 2d of the preceding month of December, he speaks of his great rival as "a mean rascal, after all;" and again he writes to Grey, in the following month of March: "As to Pitt, I think you must form the same conclusion from the duchess's paper that I do. He is a mean, low-minded dog." "You think," writes Fox to Lord Lauderdale, on the 9th of April, "that the court cannot now be forced. Remember, all I have said is that there is a chance that it may. Pitt's utter incapacity to act like a man renders that chance much less than it would otherwise be." Yet Fox and Pitt at this

[1] The date of this letter is evidently misprinted August for April.

time were not only engaged in the same cause, but were actually agreed on most of the important political questions of the day, and were even prepared at the earliest opportunity to accept and hold office together.

That Fox, when he gave vent to the foregoing taunts, laboured under a strong impression that Pitt was acting a selfish, if not a jesuitical part, there seems good reason to believe. For instance, alluding to the prospect of "the speedy discomfiture of the doctor," he writes to Grey, on the 17th of April: "IF Pitt plays fair, we shall run him very hard indeed on my motion, and in one or two more give him his death-blow, unless he runs away first." And in the same letter Fox adds: "I have not written my IF in great letters for nothing; and yet I rather think it will be right. As you are so far off, I may let you into the secret that my motion may probably, at Pitt's earnest request, for reasons foolish and fanciful beyond belief, be put off till Monday, so that, if you did think of coming, you would not be too late. It is impossible not to suspect Pitt from his ways of proceeding, and yet his interest is so evident that I think he will do right." Manifestly, it was more than suspected by Fox and his friends that Pitt's motive in playing an isolated part in the proceedings against ministers was to "let the doctor fall" as if by the hands of others; thus avoiding the offence which he must otherwise have given to

the king by combining in open opposition with Fox, and smoothing the way for the return of the latter to power. Pitt, however, as will be presently perceived, was unquestionably behaving with the most perfect sincerity. It was true, indeed, that he declined entering into an organised alliance with Fox and the Grenvilles; but the subsequent blows which he dealt at the administration proved not the less formidable that they were dealt single-handed.

The motion referred to by Fox, in the foregoing paragraph, was for the appointment of a committee of the whole House of Commons to revise the ministerial bills for the defence of the country, — a motion, it may be mentioned, tantamount to moving for a vote of want of confidence in ministers. Agreeably with Pitt's wishes, which of course received every consideration at Fox's hands, the latter consented to postpone it to Monday, the 23d of April, on which day Pitt not only spoke against ministers, but, in the bitterest and most sarcastic terms, inveighed against the manner in which the business of the nation had been conducted by them; even carrying his denunciations to such lengths as to insist that the salvation of the country, in such perilous times, depended upon their immediate removal from power.[1] The debate terminated by ministers

[1] Horner, who listened to Pitt on this occasion, writes to his father, on the following day: "Pitt gave us both substance and

obtaining a majority of fifty-two, — a number which in those days was regarded as almost equivalent to a defeat.[1] Two days afterward, on the 25th of April, Pitt, in another eloquent speech, opposed the order of the day for going into committee on a government bill for the suspension of the Army of Reserve Act; the result being that the former ministerial majority of fifty-two was reduced to only thirty-seven.[2]

That at this period the necessities of the state required men of all parties to bury their political feuds in oblivion, and to unite in cementing an harmonious and vigorous administration, was a principle which was pretty generally conceded. Nevertheless, as regarded the contingency of a coalition between Pitt and Fox, so widely, in former days, had these two celebrated statesmen differed on many vital questions relating to the Constitution and to the government of the country, and moreover, so personally bitter had been their political contentions, that there were many persons, foremost among whom was the king, who

manner as a debater of the highest powers. Most explicit in his declaration against ministers, which he delivered, however, as if at last, after much consideration and reluctance; but he enforced it with a good deal of vehement declamation in his way, and some touches of that bitter freezing sarcasm which everybody agrees is his most original talent, and appears, indeed, most natural to him."

[1] The numbers were 256 against 204.

[2] 240 against 203.

anticipated such a coalition with singular disfavour and distrust. "There are many of my friends," writes Erskine, "who speak with great complacency of a coalition with Pitt; but that, I am persuaded, can never happen. Fox could not, if he were disposed to it, carry such a disgusting measure with his own friends. With me he certainly could not, nor with many more whom I could name." Thus also Lord Colchester inserts in his diary on the 6th of May: "General dissatisfaction amongst Mr. Pitt's friends, and the public in general, at the idea of his forming a joint administration with Mr. Fox." There was evidently in progress, observed the attorney-general, Spencer Perceval, in the House of Commons, during the stormy debate of the 23d of April, a most extraordinary coalition against ministers. One gentleman, Mr. Fox, had approved of the Peace of Amiens. How those two gentlemen, Mr. Fox and Mr. Pitt, when seated together at the council-table, would be able to reconcile their conflicting opinions, was beyond his comprehension. What policy, then, he asked, could be more rash than to advise the sovereign to dismiss his present ministers without the House being in possession of any previous knowledge who were likely to be their successors? Mr. Fox would probably advocate a peace with France; but was it equally probable that such a measure would be acceptable to Mr. Windham, or to others who entertained the same opinions

as Mr. Windham? Moreover, was it possible to imagine a more unnatural alliance than that which was said to be on the eve of consummation between Mr. Pitt and Mr. Fox? Was it possible, argued the attorney-general, that Mr. Fox, who had so often arraigned the government of Mr. Pitt as unconstitutional and tyrannical, should coalesce with him with anything like cordiality and complete accord? Surely they could not unite their forces without loss of character, nor sit at the same council-table without practising a dissimulation which would be degrading to both.

Such — with reference to the suspected good understanding between Pitt and Fox — was the language made use of both in and out of Parliament; language, no doubt, sufficiently unpalatable to Pitt; who, however, had compromised himself too deeply to admit of his retreating, even if retreat had been either his policy or his wish. For instance, he had caused it to be distinctly explained to Fox, that in the event of the overthrow of the present government, and the king consequently calling upon him to frame an administration, he should gladly avail himself of Fox's great abilities; adding, however, that should the king's repugnance to admit Fox into the Cabinet prove to be insurmountable, he should consider it his duty to bow to the royal pleasure. "From various considerations," writes Pitt to Lord Melville, on the 29th of March, "and still more from this last illness,

I feel that a proposal to take into a share in his councils persons against whom he has long entertained such strong and natural objections, ought never to be made to him, but in such a manner as to leave him a free option, and to convince him that, if he cannot be sincerely convinced of its expediency, there is not a wish to force it upon him." These terms, it should be borne in mind, had not only been clearly comprehended by Fox, but he had also cheerfully acquiesced in them. "This was perfectly understood by Fox so long ago as March," writes Lord Malmesbury, "and he was perfectly satisfied with it; and it was with this conviction on his mind that he continued to act with Pitt and the Grenvilles in their endeavours to overset Addington's government." Moreover, Lord Malmesbury's view of the relative positions in which Pitt and Fox stood toward each other at this difficult and delicate crisis, is fully corroborated by Pitt himself. To Lord Melville he writes, in March, that Fox's attacks on Addington's ministry are dealt "under the full knowledge that if the result produces the removal of the present government, he [Pitt] holds himself at full liberty to form a new one, without reference to him."

In the meantime, Addington, even previously to the two important debates which had taken place in the House of Commons on the 23d and 25th of April, had clearly felt how absolutely necessary it was for him either to recruit his forces, or else to

prepare himself for an early retreat. Accordingly, on or about the 16th of April, he sent a message to Pitt inquiring whether he had any objection to state, through the medium of a common friend, his opinions on the present condition of politics, and the best means of establishing a more efficient ministration of public affairs. Pitt's reply was sufficiently haughty. Neither, he said, through a common friend, nor to Mr. Addington himself, nor for Mr. Addington's information, would he make any such communication. Should the king think proper, through any third and unexceptionable person, to command his advice, he should then deem it "his duty to state to such person, for his Majesty's information, his unreserved opinion as to the steps which ought to be taken for the establishment of a new government." This letter, it appears, was laid by Addington before the king.

The person who, with the king's approval, was selected to open a preliminary communication with Pitt was the Lord Chancellor Eldon, through whom Pitt transmitted a letter to his Majesty, in which he expressed his unabated distrust in the ability of the present Cabinet, and especially of "the person now holding the chief place in it," to carry on the government with competent wisdom and vigour; at the same time respectfully intimating his intention of shaping his parliamentary conduct in accordance with his estimate of their demerits. This letter bears date the 21st of April; but in

consequence of reasons suggested by the chancellor, to whom Pitt enclosed it unsealed, — reasons which were fully acquiesced in by Pitt, — it was not till the 27th that it was laid before the king. In the meantime, so completely had the stability of the administration been shaken by the unfavourable division which took place in the House of Commons on the 25th, that on the following day, the 26th, Addington, in a personal interview with the king, intimated to him how impossible he felt it to carry on the government for a much longer period, and how expedient, therefore, it was that he should retire from his Majesty's service. The immediate results of Addington's announcement to the king may be briefly related. On the 29th it was decided at a Cabinet council that ministers should at once tender their resignations. On the 30th Lord Eldon communicated to Pitt, by Addington's desire, that he considered his administration to be at an end; and lastly, in the course of that day, Pitt received a visit from the chancellor, who came to communicate to him the king's desire to be furnished by him, in writing, with a plan for the construction of a new administration.

To the king, whose mind was still enfeebled by the effects of his recent malady, the breaking up of the Addington ministry was, for more reasons than one, a source of keen distress. In common with many of his subjects, he had formed a much more favourable opinion of Addington's abilities

than perhaps they deserved. Like many of his subjects, too, he regarded the impending political partnership between Pitt and Fox as both an unnatural alliance and a very dangerous experiment. Moreover, the king's personal feelings were deeply interested in the impending change. He not only felt under great obligation to his late minister for having consented to accept office in 1801, but, as we have seen, he had also become personally attached to him. With Pitt, on the contrary, he was angry on account of what he considered his factious conduct in uniting with Fox and the Grenvilles to turn out Addington; and lastly, the prospect of receiving back, as his confidential minister and personal adviser, his old enemy and maligner, Charles Fox, could scarcely fail to occasion him, especially in the present weakened state of his nerves, the greatest possible dissatisfaction and concern. Thus, when Addington was closeted with him on the 26th of April, we find him exhibiting "great marks of concern and indignation;" nor, when Lord Eldon was admitted to his presence on the following day, does he seem to have become more reconciled to the change. Nevertheless, his strong sense of religion, and of the duties which he owed to his subjects, enabled him alike to govern his temper and to subdue his feelings of indignation. At a time, he observed to Lord Eldon, when it had pleased Providence to recover him from the severe affliction with which he

had been visited, it would ill become him to indulge in hasty and impatient ebullitions of anger. Still less justifiable, he said, would it be, at such a crisis of national difficulty, to allow himself to be biassed by private feelings or personal prejudices. His duty, he added, was to prevent confusion in his dominions, and that duty he would religiously perform. "From that moment," said Lord Eldon, "his Majesty never betrayed the least hastiness of temper, but attended to all that was said with the greatest attention, and in the most placid manner." He even spoke of Pitt, not only without animosity, but in terms of commendation. "I am persuaded," he said, "Mr. Pitt will never perform any engagements, or enter into any connection, which will be injurious either to the rights of my subjects or to the royal prerogative. I feel sure of this." And he added, emphatically, "I also feel my coronation oath safe in his hands."

If anything, at this time, could have increased the king's distress of mind, it was the conduct of the Prince of Wales, who, at the instigation, apparently, of his friend and chief counsellor, the Earl of Moira, had exerted his influence to effect the object which, of all others, was to the king the most unpalatable, the coalition of the ultra Whigs with Pitt for the purpose of turning out Addington and forcing themselves into power.[1] As relates to the

[1] The prince's friends had voted with government so late as the 15th of March.

public views and opinions of the prince and his friends, the following account, as given by the late Earl of Lonsdale, of certain language held by him at the Marquis of Salisbury's,[1] a few days before Pitt returned to Downing Street, is, in many respects, curious. "The prince to see the king to-morrow. He ought to be careful what he did. Take care he was acting constitutionally. That, while the fifth physician was in attendance, how could the king be said to be well? That to-morrow should not pass without something being done. That an under-plot was going on, and Mr. Pitt would be betrayed. No opinion either of the chancellor or Mr. Addington. Thought the former had deceived him. That nothing but an examination of physicians could satisfy him of the king's convalescence; and not that, unless Lord Thurlow were of the committee. That all the friends he could influence would support a government formed on a comprehensive plan; but if that could not be accomplished, he could not consent to see the affairs of the kingdom conducted in the manner they had been, and continue to frame the same line of moderation by which he had hitherto been

[1] Apparently on Sunday, the 29th of April. Lord Salisbury at this period held the lord-chamberlainship, which office was subsequently offered by Pitt to Lord Pembroke, but was declined by him. "He told me himself," writes Lord Malmesbury, "the sort of life it would oblige him to lead would make him quite wretched. I could not blame him; yet, in my mind, wish he had accepted, for the king's sake."

guided. That the Duke of Clarence would certainly attend to-morrow, and he hoped great numbers would; and whatever the Duke of Clarence might say, the sentiments he uttered were likewise those of the prince. That his brothers had been forced to attend.[1] That only four persons had seen the king. That Mr. Pitt must not judge of his mind from one interview, but he must go to him, and unprepared for the interview; but Mr. Pitt will not be allowed to see him."

The prince's surmise that Pitt would find a difficulty in obtaining an interview with the king proved to be quite correct. The king, it is true, had not only extended his forgiveness to Pitt, but had done justice to the rectitude of his intentions. Yet, on the other hand, he had causes of complaint against his former minister, personal as well as political, which he found it difficult, all at once, to overlook. It will be remembered how affectionately the king, on Pitt's quitting office in March, 1801, had expressed his wish that, though they had ceased to be political allies, they should continue to be personal friends; and further, how

[1] The prince evidently refers to the great trial of strength which was expected to take place on the Monday, the 30th of April, on a motion of Lord Stafford for an inquiry into the state of the nation. "The prince," writes Lord Malmesbury, "was at first wavering in his politics, but got finally all the votes he could for the opposition. The Duke of Clarence would have voted with it; but the other royal dukes, and very properly, if they vote at all, will vote with government."

flatteringly he had invited him to visit him constantly, and to become his private guest. These kindnesses, however, not only appear to have been somewhat ungraciously responded to on the part of the great statesman, but we have the authority of Lord St. Helens, as communicated by him both to Lord Malmesbury and Lord Colchester, that for three years Pitt had avoided his sovereign's presence. In the summer of 1801, the king had sent him an invitation to visit him at Weymouth, but to that invitation he never received a reply. True it is that, at a later period, it transpired that the invitation had never been delivered to Pitt, but whether this fact was ever known to the king appears to be extremely doubtful. Again, when Pitt, after his long absence from his parliamentary duties, returned convalescent from Bath, in January, 1803, although on one of the two or three days that he stayed in London the king held a levee at St. James's, the ex-premier not only absented himself from it, contrary to the earnest entreaties of his friends, but notoriously passed the afternoon with Addington, at Richmond Park. "Pitt," writes Canning to Lord Malmesbury, on the 8th, "did go, not to the levee, but to Richmond on that day. He really had no excuse but laziness." That his absence was both remarked and commented upon by the king, seems evident from an anxious wish, expressed by the Duke of York to Lord Malmesbury, that Mr. Pitt should at

all events make a point of being present at the next levee, which was to take place on Tuesday, the 18th, but from which, as far as we have been able to discover, he also kept away. To what extent the recollection of these personal slights may have increased the displeasure which Pitt's political conduct created in the royal breast, it would be difficult to ascertain. The king, however, would not only seem to have been hurt by what had occurred, but to have resented it in precisely the same manner as a private gentleman would probably act under similar circumstances. Meeting his former favourite minister in the park, he passed him, we are told, without giving him the slightest mark of recognition.

Pitt's propositions for the construction of a new administration were embodied by him in the form of a letter to Lord Eldon, dated the 2d of May, which the chancellor placed before the king. In this document Pitt not only laid urgent stress on the necessity of combining in one government men of ability and influence, "from parties of all descriptions, without reference to former differences and opinions," but, by mentioning Fox by name, left no possibility of the king misunderstanding his intentions. The extreme annoyance which the king continued to feel at the prospect of Fox's return to office is manifested by the reply which, three days afterward, he wrote to Pitt's proposals. "The whole tenor," he writes, "of Mr. Fox's

conduct since he quitted his seat at the board of treasury, when under age,[1] and more particularly at the Whig Club and factious meetings, rendered his expulsion from the Privy Council indispensable, and obliges the king to express his astonishment that Mr. Pitt should one moment harbour the thought of bringing such a man before his royal notice. To prevent the repetition of it, the king declares that if Mr. Pitt persists in such an idea, or in proposing to consult Lord Grenville, his Majesty will have to deplore that he cannot avail himself of the ability of Mr. Pitt with necessary restrictions. These points being understood, his Majesty does not object to Mr. Pitt's forming such a plan for conducting the public business as may, under all circumstances, appear to be eligible. But should Mr. Pitt unfortunately find himself unable to undertake what is here proposed, the king will, in that case, call for the assistance of such men as are truly attached to our happy Constitution, and not seekers of improvements which, to all dispassionate men, must appear to tend to the destruction of that noble fabric which is the pride of all thinking minds, and the envy of all foreign nations."

[1] The king is here somewhat in error. He would have been perfectly correct had he stated that Fox, when elected to Parliament, was "under age;" but at the time of his appointment to the treasury he was twenty-five years of age, having, moreover, previously been a lord of the admiralty.

In the same tone of displeasure runs the following note, dated the same day:

The King to Lord Eldon.

"QUEEN'S PALACE, May 5, 1804, $\frac{m}{19}$ p^t 6 P. M.

"The king is much pleased with his excellent chancellor's note. He doubts much whether Mr. Pitt will, after weighing the contents of the paper delivered this day to him by Lord Eldon, choose to have a personal interview with his Majesty; but whether he will not rather prepare another essay, containing as many empty words, and little information, as the one he had before transmitted.

"His Majesty will, with great pleasure, receive the lord chancellor to-morrow between ten and eleven, the time he himself has proposed.

"GEORGE R."

The person who, next to the king, seems to have been the most averse to the projected coalition, was the lord chancellor, who, in addition to other motives, personal as well as political, dreaded the effect which might be produced on his sovereign's mind, in its still debilitated state, should any strong pressure be put upon him in a matter so distasteful as the readmission of Fox to the Cabinet. To Rose he writes, on the 4th of May: "No man can be more convinced than I am of the difficult circumstances we stand in, and I thank God I am not accessory to the causes which have

produced them. The forbearance of a fortnight or three weeks would have saved the king, and I think might have saved Mr. Pitt, the cruel consequences, as I am apprehensive they will turn out, of having felt a necessity of making a proposition, the making of which will, in my judgment, most seriously injure him, and the execution of which I believe to be utterly impossible whilst the personage who must decide upon it retains his understanding. I see no medium between Mr. Pitt's trying what you think not lasting,[1] and the king's being destroyed. God forgive all those who have brought either of them into this situation."

It was two days after the date of this letter that the king, yielding at length to the repeated entreaties of Pitt, consented to admit him to a private audience. Accordingly, on the forenoon of Monday, the 7th of May, the chancellor called upon Pitt at his private residence,[2] and as soon as he had breakfasted, carried him with him in his coach to Buckingham House. On the previous day, it would seem, Pitt had received from Carlton House a very gloomy account of the state of the

[1] Rose, in a letter to which Lord Eldon's is a reply, had expressed an opinion that, without a union with Fox, Pitt would be unable to maintain himself in office for any lasting period.

[2] Pitt at this time occupied a small house, No. 14 York Place a continuation of Baker Street, Portman Square. It may casually be mentioned that close by (No. 64 Baker Street) had resided Pitt's cousin, Lord Camelford, who, two months previously (March 7th), had been killed in a duel by Best.

king's health, and consequently, on reaching the Queen's House, he readily listened to the suggestion of the chancellor, that, before being ushered into the presence of his sovereign, he should hear the opinions of the royal physicians, who happened to be in attendance. The two chief questions, he told them, which he desired to ask, were, first of all, whether the sight of an old servant, from whom the king had been estranged for three years, might not be distressing to him and secondly, whether the discussion of important affairs might not produce an injurious effect upon his health. Nothing could be more satisfactory than the answers of the physicians on both of these points; yet it was not till he had committed his questions to paper, and had received the replies of the physicians in writing, that he expressed himself satisfied. Had they demurred, he afterward observed, he should have made no scruple of quitting the palace without waiting to see the king; even though he was there by express appointment. Pitt would willingly have induced the chancellor to accompany him into the royal presence, but on the latter suggesting how desirable it was that he should judge of the king's condition entirely for himself, he agreed to enter the closet alone.

The king not only received his former minister with the greatest kindness, but on Pitt congratulating him on looking so much better than he had done after his former illness, in 1801, nothing

could be happier or more flattering than his reply. "It is not to be wondered at," he said. "I was then on the point of parting with an old friend, and I am now about to regain one." Some days afterward, he told the Duke of Portland that now he and Mr. Pitt met like old friends who had never parted. On every other question but the admission of Fox into the Cabinet, Pitt found the king very reasonable and tractable. To Lord Grenville, indeed, the king at first made considerable objection, but, as Pitt told Rose, "he gave way completely about him." Even as regarded Fox he expressed his willingness to sanction his appointment as ambassador to a foreign court, or, in fact, to any other post which did not entail the necessity of their being brought into personal contact. The king, indeed, named two or three persons whose recent conduct in Parliament, he said, he was unable to overlook; but on Pitt intimating to him that they were among those whom he had especially intended to recommend to his Majesty for office, he offered no further opposition. In that case, he said, "as friends of Mr. Pitt" he should make no objection to them, and Mr. Pitt need be under no uneasiness on the subject. The king, in fact, to use Lord Minto's words to Lord Malmesbury, "positively proscribed Fox and no one else." Accordingly, when Pitt quitted the royal presence, it was with ample powers to construct a new Cabinet, with that single but momentous exception.

There is scarcely any political act in the life of George the Third for which he has been more severely blamed than for his proscription of Fox on this celebrated occasion. Surely, however, his conduct was not altogether indefensible. For instance, is it to be wondered at that he should have shrunk from admitting to his confidence and presence a man by whom he had not only, for years, been systematically reviled and insulted, but whom, whether justly or not, he regarded as the advocate of revolutionary principles, the fomenter of sedition, and, as has been already mentioned, as the corrupter of the morals of his first-born? As Lord Malmesbury fairly points out, it was easy enough for Fox's personal friends, of whom his lordship himself was one, to overlook the faults of a companion whom they dearly loved, and to find excuses for his political extravagances; but on what grounds could they expect the like indulgence on the part of the king, far removed as he was from the arena of Fox's fascinations, and, moreover accustomed, as he had been, for the last thirty years, to hear every incautious word or act of the great opposition leader represented by his political enemies in an invidious if not in a distorted light? Moreover, putting personal motives aside, the king had had too much experience of the consequences of former coalitions, not to feel a strong repugnance to so anomalous a one as that which was now pressed upon him for

approval. Fox, as both the king and his subjects were only too well aware, had not only for years been Pitt's systematic political opponent, but, during that time, had almost invariably inveighed against his ministerial measures as wicked, dangerous, and unconstitutional. He had gone even farther. He had over and over again arraigned him on charges of the grossest corruption, and especially of the grave offence of having recklessly and unnecessarily prolonged the war with France, thereby doing his worst to bring about the ruin of his country. Surely, then, it ought not to be imputed to the king as a crime that he forbade the banns of political union between these two men, more particularly as even Fox's partial friend and former political leader, the Duke of Portland, made no scruple of expressing his opinion that Fox's exclusion from the Cabinet was not only a justifiable, but almost an unavoidable, act on the part of the sovereign. Fox, he said, had expressed opinions so strong, and had advocated administrative changes so directly opposed to the recognised and constitutional duties of every department at the head of which he was eligible to be placed, that there was no office, tenable with a seat in the Cabinet, which he had not disqualified himself from filling. Lord Grenville, added the duke, in allusion to that nobleman's impending abandonment of Pitt's interests for those of Fox, had formerly been of the same opinion; and how

therefore, could he now reconcile it to his conscience to profess a different conviction?

To Fox's credit, it must be mentioned that he bore his exclusion from power with the greatest magnanimity. Already, in anticipation of his being ostracised by the king, he had written to Thomas Grenville, expressing a wish that his exclusion might on no account interfere with Lord Grenville and his other friends accepting office. This wish, on the king's fiat becoming known, he now repeated. When, on the 7th of May, Lord Granville Leveson waited upon him, by Pitt's desire, to recount what had taken place in the royal closet, his manner betrayed neither anger, surprise, nor disappointment. For himself, he said, he was too old to care for office. He had, however, many friends who had been his followers for years, who, if they took his advice, would join the new administration, and he trusted that Mr. Pitt would be able to find places for them. Pitt, highly gratified by this language, immediately sent Lord Granville Leveson to intimate to Fox how glad he should be to comply with his wishes, at the same time suggesting that a meeting should take place between them on the following day, a proposition to which Fox readily assented. Unhappily, this interview, which promised to be a singularly interesting one, never took place. The same evening, at a meeting of Fox's friends, at Carlton House, they came to the unanimous resolution, that, owing

to the exclusion of their leader, their acceptance of office was out of the question, and consequently Fox sent a message to Pitt, declining the intended interview. To Pitt the king writes, on the 9th: "It is not without astonishment he [the king] sees by the *Times* that the opposition meeting was held at Carlton House."

But if Fox's behaviour on this occasion was commendable, the same can scarcely be said of the conduct of his new ally, Lord Grenville. Pleading as his excuse the exclusion of Fox from the Cabinet, he not only deserted Pitt in his season of difficulty, — and at a time when, together, they might have constructed a vigorous and durable administration, — but he deserted him for an alliance with a man of whose political conduct he had almost uniformly disapproved. Fox and Grenville, it must be remembered, had not only, at no time, associated on terms of intimacy or friendship, but, previously to the period of their joint campaign against Addington, their interests had been as wide apart as their political principles. To Pitt, on the contrary, Lord Grenville lay under great obligations. He and Pitt were near relatives. For years they had been personal friends as well as colleagues in office. Grenville's conduct, therefore, in separating himself from Pitt, at the present crisis of national difficulty, very naturally exposed him to strong animadversion. Such conduct, as Lord Malmes-

bury justly observes, "superseded early and intimate connections, both political and of friendship, obligations without end received, and broke up an uniformity of conduct which had begun with Lord Grenville's public existence." Very different, under similar circumstances, had been the behaviour of Pitt in the spring of 1803, when, rather than separate his interests from those of his impracticable cousin, he had foregone the almost certain acquisition of the premiership. Accordingly his indignation at the treatment which he now experienced may be readily imagined. He would teach that proud man, he told Lord Eldon, that in the service of, and with the confidence of, his sovereign, he could do without him, even though the effort might cost him his life. Of "the brotherhood," as the king styled the Grenvilles, it was shrewdly observed by his Majesty at this time, that "they must always either govern despotically, or oppose government violently." [1]

[1] "This emancipation from Pitt," writes Lord Malmesbury on the 7th, "strange as it may seem, has, I have for many years perceived, been the ruling wish in Lord Grenville's mind. He now throws off the mask, and he does it more confidently as being connected with a strong party; and any idea of past obligation, or consanguinity with Pitt, has no effect on him. The French proverb is here verified: '*Un bon ami vaut mieux que trois mauvais parents.*'"

CHAPTER V.

Members of Pitt's New Administration — Favours Pressed by the King upon Addington — Affection Shown for the King by the Eton Scholars — His Convalescence — Negotiations for a Reconciliation between Him and the Prince of Wales — Sojourn of the Court at Weymouth — The King's Interview with an Eccentric Divine — Royal Visit to Cuffnells — The King's Impaired Vision.

On the 12th of May, 1804, Pitt was gazetted as first lord of the treasury and chancellor of the exchequer; shortly after which date were announced the other ministerial arrangements by means of which he proposed to carry on his unpromising administration. "Nothing," writes Lord Grenville to Lord Buckingham, "can make me more wretched than the manner in which Pitt is eking out his government with Roses and Dundases; but this weather leaves one little inclination to come to town, or to do or say anything against it." Of the members of the Addington Cabinet, the six following remained in office:

Duke of Portland, President of the Council.
Lord Eldon, Lord Chancellor.
Earl of Westmoreland, Lord Privy Seal.

Earl of Chatham, Master-General of the Ordnance.
Lord Hawkesbury, Secretary of State for the Home Department.
Lord Castlereagh, President of the Board of Control.

The following were announced as the new admissions to the Cabinet:

Mr. Pitt, First Lord of the Treasury, and Chancellor of the Exchequer.
Earl of Harrowby, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.
Earl Camden, Secretary of State for War and the Colonies.
Lord Melville, First Lord of the Admiralty.
Duke of Montrose, President of the Board of Trade.
Lord Mulgrave, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster.

Side by side with these names, it is not uninteresting to compare the following list — such as it exists in Pitt's own handwriting — of the appointments which he had intended to submit to the king, had he been joined by Fox and the Grenvilles:

Treasury	Mr. Pitt.
Secretaries of State . .	Lord Melville. Mr. Fox. Lord Fitzwilliam.

Admiralty	Lord Spencer.
Lord President . . .	Lord Grenville.
Privy Seal	Duke of Portland.
Lord Chancellor . . .	Lord Eldon.
Master-General of Ordnance .	Lord Chatham.
Chancellor of Duchy . .	Mr. Windham.
Board of Control . . .	Lord Castlereagh.
Lord Steward . . .	Lord Camden.
Committee of Trade . .	Lord Harrowby.
Secretary at War . . .	Mr. Grey.
Secretary to Ireland . .	Mr. Canning.

Of these fifteen persons, five, it may be mentioned, either had been, or at a later period became, prime ministers.

The King to the Right Hon. Henry Addington.

"QUEEN'S PALACE, May 9, 1804, $\frac{m}{48}$ p^{t} 6 P. M.

"The king has, this instant, finished a long but most satisfactory conversation with Mr. Pitt, who will stand forth, though Lord Grenville, Lord Spencer, and Mr. Windham have declined even treating, as Mr. Fox is excluded by the express command of the king to Mr. Pitt. This being the case, the king desires Mr. Addington will attend here at ten to-morrow morning with the seals of chancellor of the exchequer.

"The king's friendship for Mr. Addington is too deeply graven on his heart to be in the least

diminished by any change of situation. His Majesty will order the warrant to be prepared, for creating Mr. Addington Earl of Banbury, Viscount Wallingford, and Baron Reading; and will order the message to be carried by Mr. Yorke to the House of Commons for the usual annuity, having most honourably and ably filled the station of Speaker of the House of Commons. The king will settle such a pension on Mrs. Addington, whose virtue and modesty he admires, as Mr. Addington may choose to propose.

"GEORGE R."

On the following day, the honours and the pension referred to in this letter, were again personally pressed upon Addington by his sovereign in the royal closet, but, much to the king's regret, were without hesitation refused. "You are a proud man, Mr. Addington," he said, "but I am a proud man, too; and why should I sleep uneasy on my pillow because you will not comply with my request?" Addington, however, persisted in repelling every entreaty made him by the king, who, it will be perceived, did not the less cordially extend to him his regard.

The King to Lord Eldon.

(Extract.)

"QUEEN'S PALACE, May 18, 1804, $\frac{m}{5}$ p^{t} 10 A.M.

"The king saw Mr. Addington yesterday. Mr. Addington spoke with his former warmth of

friendship for the lord chancellor. He seems to require quiet, as his mind is perplexed between returning affection for Mr. Pitt and great soreness at the contemptuous treatment he met with at the end of the last session from one he had ever looked upon as his private friend. This makes the king resolved to keep them for some time asunder. GEORGE R."

The King to Mr. Addington.

"QUEEN'S PALACE, May 23, 1804, $\frac{m}{5}$ p^{t} 7 P. M.

"The king is ever glad to mark the high esteem and friendship he has for so excellent a man as Mr. Addington, and will be truly gratified in seeing him this morning at ten o'clock in his usual morning dress — the king trusts in boots — as he shall be glad to think Mr. Addington does not abstain from an exercise that is so conducive to his health, and [which] will keep him in readiness with his Woodley yeomen to join his Majesty, should Buonaparte or any of his savage followers dare to cross the Channel. GEORGE R."

Addington accordingly was the same day admitted to an interview with his sovereign, which, for a season, proved to be their last. As parting testimonies of the regret with which the king bade farewell to his amiable minister, he paid him the compliment of taking the queen and princesses to visit him at the White Lodge in Richmond Park;

an honour which was followed, some time afterward, by his presenting him with a copy of Beechey's portrait of himself on horseback, as well as with copies of two other portraits, one of himself, and the other of the queen, in their respective robes of state. "In October, 1804," writes a contemporary, "Addington showed Sir T. Metcalf a letter he had received from the king, accompanied by a present of his Majesty's picture. The letter contained the following expression: 'I send you my portrait painted in the robes you have so often seen me in, when you, the best and most correct Speaker the House of Commons ever witnessed, have occasionally addressed me on the throne.'"

It should be mentioned, as affording remarkable evidence of the king's knowledge of, and of the interest which he took in, public business, that he made a point with Addington that, before he vacated his seat at the board of treasury, certain clerical arrears in that department should be cleared off.

Lord Eldon, it may be remembered, had formerly expressed apprehensions lest the king's reason might succumb to the excitement occasioned by passing events. Unhappily, those apprehensions proved to be only too well founded. "I have had another interview to-day," writes Pitt to the chancellor on the 9th of May, "not quite, I am sorry to say, so satisfactory as that of Mon-

day. I do not think there was anything positively wrong, but there was a hurry of spirits and an excessive love of talking, which showed that either the airing of this morning, or the seeing so many persons, and conversing so much during these three days, has rather tended to disturb." From this time, for many subsequent months, although the king was apparently seldom so disordered as to be completely disqualified from transacting public business, yet his mind continued in a most unsettled state. On the former occasions of his having recovered from his mental maladies he had awoke invigorated and cheerful; but unfortunately, in the present instance, he was a prey to a settled hypochondriacism. Formerly, when prostrated by illness, he had been all patience, gentleness, and consideration for others; but now expressions of fretfulness and impatience only too often escaped his lips. Those who loved him almost began to think that disease had changed his kind and almost perfect disposition.

It was remarked, as a peculiar feature of the king's disorder, that though his language was often incoherent, and though he frequently showed himself harsh and suspicious in the presence of those who were domesticated with him, yet, when conversing with persons whom he had reason to regard with deference or respect, he rarely, if ever, betrayed any sign of mental derangement. For instance, at a Privy Council over which he

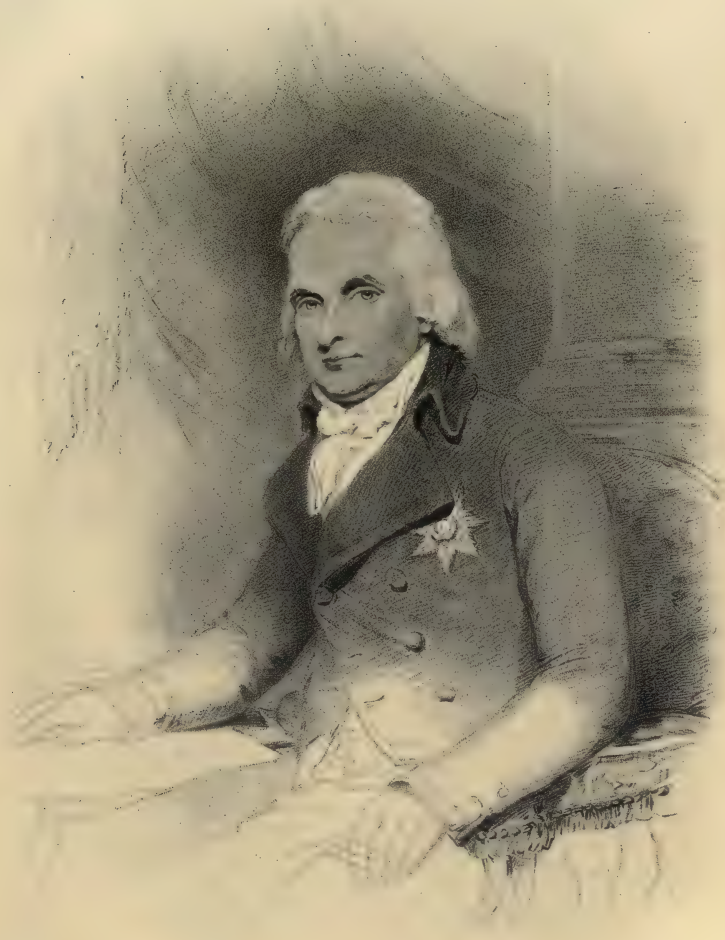
presided on the 24th of May, his manner and language would seem to have been all propriety and composure; and yet at this very time his intellects were evidently in a most disordered state. "Lady Uxbridge," writes Lord Malmesbury two days afterward, "very uneasy about the king. Said his family were quite unhappy; that his temper was altered. He had just dismissed his faithful and favourite page, Braun, who had served him during his illness with the greatest attention. Quiet and repose were the only chance."[1] This sad account was confirmed to Lord Malmesbury on the following day, both by Lord Pembroke and by Mrs. Harcourt. The king, said the latter, "had dismissed and turned away, and made capricious changes everywhere, from the lord chamberlain to the grooms and footmen. He turned away the queen's favourite coachman, made footmen grooms, and *vice versa;* and, what was still worse, because more notorious, had removed lords of the bedchamber without a shadow of reason.[2] That all

[1] "I this day heard," writes Rose, "that his Majesty had dismissed Mr. Braun, certainly one of the most attached, faithful, and honest servants he has; a particular favourite, too, to this week even. How Mr. Pitt is to carry on the government creditably, if the king is to be in the hands of the physicians, I cannot discover; nor how he can well resist an inquiry and examination of the physicians, if that shall be pressed in the House of Commons."

[2] The lords of the bedchamber, who were removed in May, 1804, were the Earl of Westmeath and Lord Amherst, who made room for Alleyne, Lord St. Helens, and Charles, Lord Arden.

James Harris, Earl of Malmesbury.

Photo-etching from original drawing by H. E. Eldridge.



this afflicted the royal family beyond measure. The queen was ill and cross; the princesses low, depressed, and quite sinking under it; and that unless means could be found to place some very strong-minded and temperate person about the king, he would either commit some extravagance, or he would, by violent exercise and carelessness, injure his health and bring on a deadly illness." [1]

Happily, on the 26th, the king was well enough to remove to Windsor, where he remained till the 29th. It should be mentioned that, on the former of those days, as his carriage was passing through Eton, the Eton boys, overjoyed at his apparent recovery, not only gave him a rapturous reception, but followed him, with repeated rounds of cheers and huzzas, till he alighted from his carriage in the quadrangle of Windsor Castle. The next day, happening in the course of his ride to fall in with one or two of the scholars, the good-natured monarch entered freely into conversation with them, and heartily thanked them for the reception which they had given him. He had always, he said, loved Eton, but now he should be more partial to her than ever. "I shall in future," he added, "be an anti-Westminster." Some months afterward,

[1] *Thursday, June 7.* With Lord Camden at his office. He explained to me the awkward circumstance, viz., that the king had given Pelham the stick [as captain of the yeoman of the guard] without giving any previous notice of it to Pitt; that this was provoking and vexatious, and Pitt felt it severely, yet scarce knew what was right to be done.

in the course of a conversation with Mr. Rose at Cuffnells, the king reverted to the subject with manifest satisfaction. He had through life, he said, made it an invariable rule to store in his memory the better qualities and feelings of others, and to discard as much as possible from his thoughts the bad. "On this principle," he added, "I shall always cherish the remembrance of the natural and sudden impulse by which the Eton boys were actuated, when they received me with such affectionate and marked congratulations after my last recovery." [1]

[1] An interesting and valuable little volume, recently published, contains the following pleasing evidence of the king's partiality for the Eton boys of his time: "His Majesty took a lively personal interest in the boys, and knew the most distinguished of them by name and sight. 'All people think highly of Eton, everybody praises Eton,' he said to young De Quincey. He was hospitable to them in his odd way. On one occasion he sent to invite them in a body to the Terrace, and kept them all to supper — 'remembering to forget' to extend the entertainment to the masters who had accompanied them, and who returned home in great dudgeon. There were many instances of his kindness to individuals in the school. A boy was once rushing 'down-town' at a tremendous pace, being rather late for 'absence,' when he ran full butt against the king, and 'took the wind very considerably out of the royal person.' Of course he stopped to apologise, which made his appearance, even at 'second name,' absolutely hopeless. But the good-natured king asked him his name, and took the trouble to write a note to the head master to explain the delay. On another occasion, when a boy was expelled for poaching in Windsor Home Park — a misdemeanour which was not uncommon — the king, thinking that the punishment was too severe for the offence, gave him a commission in the Guards."

From the pen of the Duke of York we have one or two interesting notices of the condition of the king's mind at this time. "I am afraid from what I have heard," he writes to Lord Eldon on the 25th of May, "that things are not comfortable at the Queen's House this morning, and wish that you would inquire of Sir Francis Milman and Doctor Simmons before you go in to the king, as he seems to dwell much upon the illegality of his confinement, and is not aware of the dreadful consequences which may attend him if any unfortunate circumstance can be brought forward in Parliament." The next day the duke, in writing to the chancellor, alludes to the king entertaining notions in regard to foreign politics which "could only be creatures of an imagination heated and disordered;" and again, on the 29th, the day on which the king returned from Windsor, he writes as follows:

The Duke of York to Lord Eldon.

"PORTMAN SQUARE, May 29, 1804.

"MY DEAR LORD: — I have many thanks to return your lordship for your letter, and am sorry not to be able to give you a much better account of his Majesty than what you remarked yourself on Sunday [the 27th].

"Though by all accounts less hurried than the day before, I found his Majesty agitated and very unguarded in his conversation.

"Should it not be inconvenient to your lordship to call at any time to-day, between two and six o'clock, at the Horse Guards, I shall be happy to see you, as I am anxious to mention to your lordship some circumstances of which I think it of consequence that you should be informed. Believe me ever, my dear lord,

"Yours most sincerely,

"FREDERICK.

"*The Right Hon. the Lord High Chancellor.*"

Not less unsatisfactory than the duke's account is an entry in Lord Malmesbury's diary of the same day: "Lord Uxbridge at two; very low about the king. He was just come from Windsor. 'Don't question me,' he said, 'I am quite unhappy. Simmons is a ——.' The Willises say they were paid so shabbily by Addington that they would not return to the court; but I do not believe they had the choice."

Yet, notwithstanding the very unpromising character of these reports, the king was certainly making progress toward recovery. For instance, Lord Malmesbury was told by General Harcourt on the 1st of June that he had lately seen the king on several occasions and for a long time together, and that in looks, in manner, and in conversation, he considered him to be in a more satisfactory state than at any time since the commencement of his illness. Pitt, too, who saw him on the following

day, and whom "he received with perfect kindness," quitted the royal closet impressed with the same favourable conviction. "On the whole," writes Rose, "Mr. Pitt thought him remarkably well; talking on all subjects in as collected a manner as he had ever known him to do. His Majesty, among other subjects, talked of Lord Grenville and his friends in terms of great moderation."

The following brief extracts from Lord Colchester's diary afford further evidence of the king's temporary convalescence:

"*Saturday, June 2d.* Lord Wilton said the king was much better yesterday than when he saw him some days ago. He has written some very able letters, particularly one to Lord Harrowby upon the conduct of correspondence with foreign powers.

"*4th.* The king's birthday. A drawing-room, at which the queen and princesses, but not the king, were present. The prince was not there, but drove through the streets upon the coach-box of his barouche. The Princess of Wales was there."[1] Lord Malmesbury also mentions that

[1] "It was known," writes Lord Stanhope, "that his Majesty was strict in requiring the attendance of his family and household at the drawing-room held every year in honour of his birthday, on the 4th of June. In 1804, not only did the prince on that day remain absent from court, but to prove that his absence was not owing to indisposition, he drove through the streets upon the coach-box of his barouche. Nevertheless, a reconciliation was desired by his own friends as much as by the king's."

the king was not at the drawing-room, which was "immensely crowded;" but he adds that he "continues well and mending."

On the following day, the king, after holding a council, was well enough to give audiences in the royal closet to various persons, among whom was Lord Pelham, who came to deliver up the seals of the chancellorship of the Duchy of Lancaster. At the moment when he was about to present them, the king stopped him. "Before," he said, "I can allow you to empty your hands, you must empty mine;" at the same time presenting him with the stick of captain of the yeomen of the guard. "It will be less a sinecure than formerly," added the king, "as I intend living more with my great officers." "A council," writes Rose, "was this day held at the Queen's House, previously to which there was a sort of private levee there, at which I kissed his Majesty's hand as joint paymaster-general. This was the first time I had seen the king since his recovery. He spoke to me for about ten minutes, and I never saw him more entirely well; perfectly composed and collected; if anything, less hurried in his manner than usual. He talked to me chiefly about my family, for all of whom he inquired with great kindness; but there was no appearance of any unbecoming familiarity."

On the 17th of July, a letter from Lord Henley to Lord Auckland gives a very favourable account

of the king's health, and on the 31st he prorogued Parliament in person. "He looked extremely well," writes Lord Colchester, "and read the speech well, with great animation, but accidentally turned over two leaves together, and so omitted about one-fourth of his intended speech. It happened, however, that the transition was not incoherent, and it escaped some of the Cabinet who had heard it before the king delivered it." "The king," writes Lord Hobart to Lord Auckland two days afterward, "certainly looked well and cheerful at the House of Lords, and I will report to you what I think of him on my return from Windsor on Sunday. A reconciliation between the king and the prince, for the purpose of prevailing upon Lord Moira to take office, — probably the Lord-Lieutenancy of Ireland, with Tierney for his secretary, — is just now, I conceive, the object at which Mr. Pitt is working, and if it can be attained, must have the effect of considerably strengthening his government."

Having now traced the progress of the king's health during the months of May, June, and July, the present seems to be a proper place for introducing a few specimens of the notes or letters written by the king at this anxious season. The two first letters, addressed to Lord Castlereagh, then president of the board of control, will be found peculiarly interesting, as evincing that the king permitted neither mental nor bodily illness to

interfere with the transaction of public business, or his regard for the public interests.

The King to Viscount Castlereagh.[1]

"QUEEN'S PALACE, May 22, 1804.

"The king has no doubt that every possible attention, which can with propriety be shown to the Emperor of China, must be attended with indulgences on his part to our trade with his subjects. It were much to be wished, for the

[1] This letter, it should be mentioned, is the first of a series of unpublished letters addressed by George the Third to the celebrated statesman, Robert, Viscount Castlereagh, afterward second Marquis of Londonderry. The originals of these letters — as the author was informed some years ago by the present marquis — were lost on the occasion of the shipwreck of the effects of his lordship's former tutor, Doctor Turner, Bishop of Calcutta, who had received permission to carry them with him, for biographical purposes, to India. Fortunately, copies of them had been previously placed in the hands of the late Mr. Croker, to assist in forming as complete a collection as possible of the letters and notes addressed by George the Third to his several ministers. To this laudable object the reader is indebted for their appearance in these volumes, as also for the appearance, for the first time, of the king's letters to Lords Weymouth and Howe, and other documents of interest. By the late King of Hanover, and by other well-wishers to the king's memory, much interest seems to have been taken in this proposed collection; it being evidently their opinion, as it will also probably prove to be the opinion of others, that such a publication would go far to raise, in the estimation of the public, the king's reputation for ability, industry, and judgment. Copies of the king's letters to Lords Chatham, Rockingham, and Halifax were also placed in Mr. Croker's hands by the possessors of the originals, but they have, since then, made their appearance in other printed works.

advantage of this country, that the territorial possessions of the East India Company were made over to this kingdom, and the company alone be engaged in pursuing their commercial concerns.

"The king takes this opportunity of assuring Lord Castlereagh, with great truth, that he thinks it both highly advantageous to his service, as well as personally agreeable to himself, that Lord Castlereagh remains at the head of the Indian board. It requires a man of talents, and above [all] a man of a calm temper, and not wanting of firmness, as the directors are ever desirous of getting rid of a curb to their interested views.

"GEORGE R.

"*P. S.* Mr. Moteux is wrongly informed. The king never signs his name a-top to letters, but as he has done on the present occasion.

"G. R."

The King to Viscount Castlereagh.

"QUEEN'S PALACE, May 23, 1804, $\frac{m}{30}$ p^{t} 6 A. M.

"The king is so pleased with the handsome, and he may [say] attached note he received the last evening from Lord Castlereagh, that he cannot refrain from expressing the satisfaction it has given him. His Majesty ever has looked upon the goodness of the private character as the only criterion of the utility or danger of the abilities of

any man to the country. Lord Castlereagh's has ever been praiseworthy, and fortunately he has ever been bred up a friend to good government, and therefore he can hold up his head, having no former opinions to forget before he can take his true line, which evil hangs ever a weight around the neck, most inconveniently, to some politicians.

"The king had ever a great regard for the late Marquis of Hertford, which ever inclined him to see with a favourable eye the conduct of Lord Castlereagh,[1] and makes him rejoice that Lord Castlereagh's services in the House of Commons are not precarious, as they would have been had the Earl of Londonderry been created a British peer.

"Nothing can be more proper than the conduct of that valuable man, the Earl of Camden, [in] his judicious choice of Mr. Croker as his under secretary, a man whose political conduct, and steady principles of government, have ever been in Ireland conspicuous.[2] GEORGE R."

[1] Lord Castlereagh was grandson to the, then, late Lord Hertford, his mother being Lady Sarah Frances Seymour, daughter of Francis, first Marquis of Hertford, the nobleman to whom the king refers. Lord Hertford died 14th June, 1794.

[2] John Croker, Esq., for many years surveyor-general of customs and excise in Ireland. Edmund Burke speaks of him as "a man of great abilities and most amiable manners; an able and upright public steward, and universally respected and beloved in private life."

The King to Lord Eldon.

"QUEEN'S PALACE, June 8, 1804.

"The king, on returning from his walk in the garden, has found the lord chancellor's note, accompanied by the titles of the three bills wherein the property of the Crown is affected.

"His Majesty fully authorises his most excellent Lord Eldon to give his consent to the House of Lords proceeding with these bills, and in particular approves of the one for laying open Westminster Abbey to Palace Yard. Whatever makes the people more accustomed to view cathedrals must raise their veneration for the Established Church. The king will with equal pleasure consent, when it is proposed, to the purchasing and pulling down the west side of Bridge Street and the houses fronting Westminster Hall; as it will be opening to the traveller that ancient pile which is the seat of administration of the best laws and the most uprightly administered; and if the people really valued the religion and laws of this blessed country, we should stand on a rock that no time could destroy. GEORGE R."

The King to Viscount Castlereagh.

"QUEEN'S PALACE, June 11, 1804, $\frac{m}{20}$ p^{t} 10.

"The king takes this method of forwarding to Lord Castlereagh the contents of the box from

the Nabob of Arcot. It contained nothing but a complimentary letter on the conduct of Lord Clive, which ought, on the departure of the next ships to India, to be answered. Lord Castlereagh will therefore order a proper letter for that purpose to be prepared. GEORGE R."

The King to Mr. Pitt.

"June 12, 1804.

"The king cannot refrain from expressing to Mr. Pitt that he thinks the increase of majority last night[1] highly advantageous to the cause of good government; and that the more he reflects on Mr. Pitt's proposition, now framing into a bill in the House of Commons, the more he sees the judiciousness of the measure.

"He cannot think the line of conduct held by Mr. Addington is either wise or dignified. That of Mr. Yorke is open to more indulgence; he having been the adviser of all the alterations made in the mode of defence from the time of Lord Pelham's retiring from the service, and the not being a little wedded to his own opinion. G. R."

[1] On the propriety of the House of Commons going into a committee on the "Additional Force Bill." Ministers obtained a majority of fifty; the ayes being 219, and the noes 169.

[2] Addington, on the 5th inst., and Yorke on the 8th, had severally spoken in the House of Commons against Pitt's plan for the military defence of the country.

The King to Mr. Pitt.

(Extract.)

"June 16, 1804.

"His Majesty trusts to the goodness of his cause, his own resolution to support the present administration with all his might, and to the spirit, uprightness, and talents of Mr. Pitt. This combination scarcely can fail of success. At least it will deserve it. G. R."

The King to Lord Eldon.

"KEW, June 22, 1804, $\frac{m}{45}$ p^t 6 P. M.

"His Majesty has just received the lord chancellor's note, and thinks it every way better to come [to London] on Saturday by eleven to see the physicians; and will be glad if it can be convenient to the lord chancellor that he would call at the Queen's Palace at the same hour.

"GEORGE R."

The King to Lord Eldon.

"KEW, June 30, 1804.

"The king easily conceives that unless the House of Commons can be taught the utility of having more forecast, and consequently bringing in bills earlier in the course of the sessions, the present evil [must continue] of occasioning much hurry and too little decent deliberation in the House of Lords.

"But, in truth, part of this must inevitably be laid this year to the king's long, tedious, and never-ending confinement, which has thrown much perplexity in every quarter, but which he is resolved, with the protection of divine Providence, carefully to avoid in future. His Majesty saw, yesterday afternoon, Mr. Pitt, and was much pleased with the appearance of his health, and his good spirits at the great success in the House of Lords, and total dereliction of the motley opposition.[1]

"Mr. Pitt brings in his proposals for exonerating the civil list, and the provision for the king's five daughters; of which the king gave them information last night, and saw with the highest satisfaction their affectionate gratitude.

"GEORGE R."

The King to Lord Eldon.

"KEW, July 6, 1804, $\frac{m}{10}$ p. 8 A. M.

"The king proposes seeing his physicians at the Queen's Palace to-morrow morning; and therefore will be glad if the lord chancellor can without inconvenience be there at eleven. GEORGE R."

The King to Lord Eldon.

"WINDSOR, July 24, 1804.

"The king returns the instrument appointing Mr. Ryder a Welsh judge, which he has signed,

[1] On the 25th, government had carried the "Additional Force Bill" in the House of Lords by a majority of 154 against 69.

and is so certain of the good intentions of the lord chancellor that he rests secure that his language to the Earl of Moira has been prudent, and very conformant to that his Majesty has suggested.

"The business must now rest here, till the time of the king's departure is settled by Doctor Simmons giving notice that he relinquishes any further attendance. Then his Majesty will authorise the lord chancellor to see again the Earl of Moira, and in the meantime have his interview with the Princess of Wales, previous to taking the painful step of seeing the Prince of Wales before he sets out for Weymouth. GEORGE R."

It should be mentioned that, on the fourth of this month, the Prince of Wales had addressed a letter to the queen, expressing deep regret that his estrangement from the king should be the means of debarring him from the society of his mother and sisters, and appealing to his father's feelings to grant him an interview. "Were this allowed me," he writes, "I should fly to throw myself at the king's feet, and offer to him the testimony of my ever unvarying attachment. I have long grieved that misrepresentations have estranged his Majesty's mind from me, and the most anxious wish of my heart is for the opportunity of dispelling that coldness. Every consideration renders this distance most severely painful.

My first object is the gratification of the feelings of affection, leaving all else to the spontaneous dictates of my father's kindness; and, if any public view can mingle with this sentiment, it is the incalculable importance to his Majesty and the country, of the whole royal family appearing united in a moment so awful as the present." The king, it will be perceived, consented to grant the prince an interview, but evidently with reluctance, and with very little confidence in his son's professions.

The King to Lord Eldon.

"WINDSOR, August 20, 1804.

"The king trusts his excellent lord chancellor felt himself authorised, on Saturday, to acquaint the Prince of Wales that, in consequence of what the Earl of Moira has been authorised to express, his Majesty is willing to receive the Prince of Wales on Wednesday at Kew, provided no explanation or excuses are attempted to be made by the Prince of Wales, but that it is merely to be a visit of civility; as any retrospect could but oblige the king to utter truths which, instead of healing, must widen the present breach. His Majesty will have the queen, princesses, and at least one of his sons, the Duke of Cambridge, present on the occasion. The lord chancellor is to fix on twelve o'clock for the hour of the Prince of Wales's coming to Kew.

"The king cannot conclude without expressing his earnest wishes that the union to take place on Wednesday,[1] in the Scott family, may prove a source of happiness to them, as his Majesty must ever be a sharer in any event that may add to the domestic felicity of his lord chancellor.

"GEORGE R."

If the king's invitation to his heir to meet him at Kew was neither a very hearty nor very flattering one, the manner in which it was responded to by the prince was, to say the least, quite as wanting in courtesy and filial deference. We have the king's authority, and indeed his own words, that he received a communication from his son, "notifying that he will be at Kew at the appointed hour;" and yet we not only find him changing his intention, but, in an interview which he sought with the lord chancellor, bluntly ordering him to apprise the king that he positively refused to be present at the appointed meeting. Such conduct naturally provoked a respectful remonstrance from the chancellor, but to little purpose. "Sir," said the prince, angrily, "who gave you authority to advise me?" The chancellor,

[1] The marriage referred to by the king was that of the Honourable John Scott, the chancellor's eldest son, and Henrietta Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Matthew White Ridley, Bart. The ceremony took place in the Church of St. Marylebone, London, on Wednesday, the 22d of August, 1804.

however, was not to be browbeaten. It was a matter of regret to him, he said, that he should have given offence to his Royal Highness, but, at the same time, he added, firmly, "I am his Majesty's chancellor, and it is for me to judge what messages I ought to take to his Majesty. Your Royal Highness must send some other messenger with that communication. I will not take it."

In the meantime, the queen and princesses — still proud and fond of the showy and dashing prince in spite of all his delinquencies — had assembled with the king at Kew in happy anticipation of the family reconciliation they had been led to expect, when a groom arrived from Bushy Park — where the prince was apparently a guest of his brother, the Duke of Clarence — bringing an excuse that he was prevented keeping his appointment by indisposition.[1] The king, as we learn from the Buckingham papers, was highly indignant; yet the following lines appear to contain the only notice which he openly took of the slight.

The King to Lord Eldon.

"KEW, August 22, 1804, 10 min. past 1 P. M.

"The king, soon after his arrival here with the

[1] On the 19th of September following, Fox writes to Lord Grey: "My judgment is, that if a reconciliation could have taken place by the queen it was right; if by Mr. Pitt, it was wrong; but Tierney saw no such distinction. The refusal to see the king had gone before I knew anything more than when I went to Cheltenham. I should not have advised it."

queen and his daughters, found the Dukes of Kent and Cambridge, since which, the lord chancellor's letter has been brought by a servant of the Prince of Wales. The king authorises the lord chancellor to express to the Prince of Wales his sorrow at his being unwell. That, in consequence of this, his Majesty will postpone his interview with the Prince of Wales until his return from Weymouth, and then, as was now intended, it will be in presence of his family at Kew, of which the lord chancellor will be empowered to give due notice to the Prince of Wales. GEORGE R."

The queen had urged her consort to write to this effect, direct to the prince himself, but this he positively declined doing. He would never again, he told her, write to any one who published his letters.

On the 23d of August, being the day previous to the departure of the court for Weymouth, the king, as was his custom when on the eve of setting out on a journey, presented himself on the terrace at Windsor for the purpose of exchanging kind words of farewell with such persons whom he loved and respected, as were there to pay their respects to him, and to wish him a prosperous journey. The following morning the royal party set out from the Queen's Lodge. At Heckfield Heath, they stopped to dine at Sir William Pitt's, and after having supped at the Star and Garter

at Andover, resumed their journey, travelling all night, to Weymouth. Although it was so late as five o'clock in the morning when the king arrived at his destination, he was, nevertheless, to be seen soon after seven, on his favourite Esplanade, rejoicing the visitors and inhabitants of Weymouth with his good-humoured smiles, and pleasant bows of recognition. After breakfast he mounted his horse and inspected the Hanoverian legion, and in the afternoon reviewed the German legion, the Somersetshire militia, and Weymouth volunteers. The danger of invasion was at this time as imminent as ever, and accordingly no fewer than four thousand troops were stationed in the neighbourhood for the protection of the king's person; while, in addition to several smaller vessels-of-war, two frigates, the *Crescent* and *Æolus*, rode in the bay. It was possibly about this time that the king addressed the following undated letter to Bishop Hurd, again signifying his intention of removing the queen and princesses to the episcopal palace of Worcester, in the event of Napoleon effecting a successful landing on the shores of England.

The King to Bishop Hurd.

"My dear good Bishop: — It has been thought by some of my friends that it will be necessary to remove my family. Should I be under the painful necessity, I do not know where I could place them

with so much satisfaction to myself, and, under Providence, with so much security, as with yourself and my friends at Worcester. It does not appear to be probable that there will be any occasion for it, for I do not think the unhappy man who threatens will dare to venture himself among us; neither do I wish you to make any preparation for us, but I thought it right to give you this information.

"I remain, my dear good bishop,

"GEORGE R."

During the king's stay at Weymouth he had the appearance of being in excellent health and spirits. Whether questioning the common sailor on the subject of his noble profession; whether discussing with naval officers the threatening prospect of invasion; whether discoursing about agriculture with the Dorsetshire farmers, or conversing in German with the officers of the foreign legions, George the Third, as usual, won all hearts by his urbanity and kindness. As usual, too, he never seemed to be idle for a single moment. The hours in which he was not engaged in business were employed by him in reviewing the troops or in witnessing sham fights; in visiting places of interest in the neighbourhood, or in pleasant excursions on the water. During his visit, Weymouth seems to have been one scene of gaiety. The anniversary of his forty-second

wedding-day, the 8th of September, he celebrated by a fête presided over by the Princess Elizabeth, followed by a splendid ball in the evening. On the 22d, the anniversary of his coronation, there was a grand review on the neighbouring downs, and afterward a banquet and ball, at which the king and queen remained till nearly midnight; and again, on the 29th, the king gave an entertainment on board the royal yachts which were in attendance upon him, in honour of the anniversary of the birth of his eldest daughter, the Queen of Wurtemberg.

On the 10th of October the king and queen and the princesses paid a visit to Lord Dorchester at Milton Abbey, where they remained till the 13th, when they returned to Weymouth. It should be mentioned that among the portraits in the library at Milton, the king was much struck with that of a rather remarkable-looking person in a canonical habit, represented as seated in an armed chair, holding a book in one of his hands. It was a portrait, by Thomas Beach, a pupil of Sir Joshua Reynolds, of the Rev. William Chafin, a popular fox-hunting clergyman in the neighbourhood, and chaplain to the Dorsetshire yeomanry cavalry. In answer to the king's inquiries, Lord Dorchester intimated that it was a good likeness of the original, whom his Majesty would probably see before he quitted Milton Abbey, and in that case he would be able to judge for himself. It

should be further mentioned that the reverend gentleman, in consequence of having fallen under the displeasure of his bishop, was on the point of removing from the country. Happily, however, his departure was delayed till the king had been afforded an opportunity of seeing and conversing with him. The occasion of their meeting was a morning visit paid by the king to Rushmore Lodge, a seat of Lord Rivers, situated in the centre of Cranbourne Chase. "The road to it," writes the reverend gentleman, "was the great western turnpike, until they came to a direction-post near my house, where a private road branches off leading to the lodge; but my house was in view for near a mile before the carriages came to that spot, and I believe his Majesty had noticed it, and had made some inquiries about it. His Majesty's journey being made known, many persons went out of curiosity to see the calvacade pass by; and, among others, my two nieces and I were standing near the place where the road turned, when his Majesty's carriage suddenly stopped, and a horseman rode up to us, whom I immediately knew to be Lord Walsingham, and he knew me." "His lordship," proceeds the reverend gentleman, after a short digression, "addressing me with a smile on his countenance, said, 'His Majesty wants to speak to you; he wants to see whether your picture at Lord Dorchester's is a good likeness.' I was

much confused at this notice, and was hastening toward his Majesty's carriage, when I observed a favourite little dog of my nieces running under the wheels of another carriage, which, with some difficulty, I released and took it up in my arms, and in that situation presented myself at the side of his Majesty's chaise.

"His Majesty very graciously begun a conversation with me by asking me if that house, pointing to it, was not mine. I answered his Majesty that it was. He observed that it was pleasantly situate and appeared a good old mansion. I informed his Majesty that it was built by my father. He said that he thought it must have been much older, and then very quickly added, 'Walsingham tells me that you are about to leave this fine healthy county for the foggy one of Cambridgeshire.' I answered, 'Yes, — and please your Majesty I do it for reasons with which if your Majesty was acquainted, I think you would not much blame me.' He instantly said, 'I know — I know all.' And then, looking earnestly at me, he said to Lord Walsingham, 'Beach has done justice; it is a good likeness — a good picture.' Then, looking at me again with a smile on his countenance, said, 'In your picture you are drawn with a book in your hand, but now you have a dog, a pleasanter companion, I suppose; for Walsingham has informed me that you are a sportsman. All in character, I find.' And immediately

the glass was drawn up, and the cavalcade passed on."

On the 29th of October the king took his departure from Weymouth, and on the same afternoon arrived at Mr. Rose's seat, Cuffnells, with whom he had arranged that the queen, the princesses, and himself should pass a few days on the return of the court to Windsor. "His Majesty," writes the gratified host, "arrived at Cuffnells, from Weymouth, about four in the afternoon. The Duke of Cumberland's regiment of light dragoons and my eldest son's regiment of South Hants yeomanry cavalry received his Majesty on the road near Stony Cross, and in the park at Cuffnells he was received by the volunteers in the neighbourhood, amounting to about eighteen hundred. The queen, all the princesses, and the Duke of Cambridge arrived at the same time, and four ladies attending the queen and princesses, viz., Lady Isabella Thynne, Lady Georgina Buckley, Lady Matilda Wynyard, and Lady Ilchester. I dined with their Majesties, and in the evening was of their card-party, and afterward supped with them."

During the king's stay at Cuffnells, there was not a day but he either rode or walked with his host, on which occasions his Majesty entertained him with many interesting particulars relating to his life and reign. The evenings were passed in the society of the queen and princesses. "I was

constantly at table," writes Mr. Rose, "with the royal family when they dined here, as well as every night at supper, and every evening at cards." Thus all went on smoothly till the day previous to the departure of the court from Cuffnells, when, as the king was riding side by side with his host, an incident occurred which is worthy of being recorded. "Of Lord North," writes Mr. Rose, "his Majesty was beginning to speak in very favourable terms, when we were interrupted by the Princess Amelia, who with the other princesses was riding behind us, getting a most unfortunate fall. The horse, on cantering down an inconsiderable hill, came on his head, and threw her Royal Highness flat on her face. She rose without any appearance of being at all hurt, but evidently a good deal shaken, and notwithstanding an earnest wish to avoid occasioning the slightest alarm, was herself not desirous of getting on horseback again. But the king insisted that she should, if at all hurt, get into one of the carriages, and return to Cuffnells to be bled, or otherwise mount another horse, and ride on. She chose the latter, and rode to Southampton, where she lost some blood unknown to the king. I hazarded an advice, that no one else would do, for her Royal Highness's return, which was certainly not well received, and provoked a quickness from his Majesty that I experienced in no other instance. He observed that he could not bear that any of his family should want courage; to which I replied

I hoped his Majesty would excuse me if I said I thought a proper attention to prevent the ill effects of an accident that had happened, was no symptom of a want of courage. He then said, with some warmth 'Perhaps it may be so; but I thank Heaven there is but one of my children who wants courage; and I will not name him, because he is to succeed me.' I own I was deeply pained at the observation, and dropped behind to speak to General Fitzroy, which gave a turn to the conversation."

On the 2d of November the king took his departure from Cuffnells, and, after stopping to dine with the Bishop of Winchester at Farnham Castle, arrived the same evening at Windsor.

It was while the king was staying at Cuffnells that we discover the first indication of his being afflicted by that distressing derangement of the visual organs, which a few years afterward terminated in total blindness. He had nearly, he told Rose, lost the sight of one eye, and, even with the other, it was with the greatest difficulty that he could read a newspaper by candle-light, whatever might be the strength of his spectacles.

CHAPTER VI.

Interview between the King and the Prince of Wales — Dissensions in the Royal Family — Childhood of the Princess Charlotte of Wales — The King's Anxiety to Obtain the Care of Her Person and Education — Reconciliation between Pitt and Addington — Death of the Archbishop of Canterbury — Contest between the King and Pitt for the Nomination of His Successor.

THE negotiation for an interview between the king and the Prince of Wales, which had been interrupted by the departure of the court for Weymouth, his Majesty, on his return to Windsor, was the first to reopen. It was a matter on which he perhaps would have been less eager, but that Pitt was anxious to secure the support of the "prince's friends," and especially of the Earl of Moira, and the king was naturally desirous of strengthening the hands of his minister.

The King to Lord Eldon.

"WINDSOR CASTLE, November 7, 1804.

"The king authorises his lord chancellor to acquaint the Prince of Wales that he is willing to receive the prince at Kew in the manner proposed

previous to his Majesty's going to Weymouth, which interview was prevented by the indisposition of the Prince of Wales. As soon as the king is apprised by the lord chancellor of the time the Prince of Wales will come from Brighton for that purpose, he will, through the same channel, name the day and hour for that meeting.

"GEORGE R."

The Prince of Wales to Lord Eldon.

"BRIGHTON, Nov. 8, 1804.

"The Prince of Wales without delay acknowledges the receipt of the chancellor's letter, and will, in consequence of the gracious intention signified from his Majesty, be in London to-morrow evening with the Earl of Moira, who has just arrived at Brighthelmstone. The Earl of Moira is authorised by the prince to wait upon the chancellor at any hour on Saturday morning that his lordship may please to appoint."

The King to Lord Eldon.

"WINDSOR CASTLE, Nov. 11, 1804.

"The king has this morning received the lord chancellor's letter, and has great satisfaction in learning from it that the Earl of Moira has given the strongest assurances that the Prince of Wales has the most dutiful and affectionate sentiments toward his king and father.

"The lord chancellor is to acquaint the Prince of Wales that his Majesty, and the queen and rest of the family at Windsor, will be ready at Kew to receive him to-morrow at half-past twelve.

"GEORGE R."

The King to Lord Eldon.

"WINDSOR CASTLE, NOV. 13, 1804.

"The king is so sensible of the attachment to his person of the lord chancellor, that he thinks it right to acquaint him that the interview yesterday at Kew was every way decent; and as both parties avoided any subjects but those of the most trifling kind, certainly it has done no harm, and leaves it to the Prince of Wales's future conduct to show whether the sentiments, the Earl of Moira flatters himself to have found, are genuine.

"The king takes this opportunity of communicating a letter he received yesterday from the Bishop of Exeter, on the intention of his brother to be candidate for the vacant mastership of the Charter House. His Majesty and the queen have no votes at elections in that excellent institution, though they have a turn of nomination to scholars and old men on that foundation. The king, at the same time, sees no objection [to] authorising his lord chancellor to communicate his approbation of Doctor Fisher's pretensions to stand forth on this occasion, as his Majesty [considers] no more proper candidate can appear, and that he is every way

well qualified to fill the station with credit to those who will support him, as well as utility to the place of his earliest education.

"GEORGE R."

Some of the particulars of the prince's interview with his father were related by him to his friends. "The account," writes Pitt to Lord Eldon, on the 12th, "I have just had of the interview tallies in the main with that sent to you, but with the addition of great lamentations at having found the king so much broken in all respects. I find great efforts may be expected to be immediately made to prevent any further progress toward real reconciliation; but still, my informant thinks the disposition is favourable." To Fox the prince made a similarly unsatisfactory report of the apparent state of health in which he found the king. "There was no cordiality or pretended affection," writes Fox, "but common talk on weather, scandal, etc., — a great deal of the latter, — and, as the prince thought, very idle and foolish in the manner, and running wildly from topic to topic, though not absolutely incoherent. With respect to Lord Moira's meeting with Pitt, he said that Pitt had expressed a particular desire of having him, Moira, in the Cabinet, and a general wish to admit many of the prince's friends. I rather think Moira, whom I saw separately, added hopes of time bringing about all."

On this occasion, at least, the prince's report of the state of his father's health was apparently not too unfavourable a one. Since the king's return from Weymouth his mind had at intervals shown itself to be still in an unsettled state, and although at Kew he seemed to be unusually cheerful and well, there were those about his person who at times apprehended the worst that could befall him. His temper again became morose and irritable; the only members of his family with whom he consented to dine were alternately the Princesses Sophia and Amelia; and lastly, and most unhappily, he became completely estranged from the almost heart-broken wife whose steadfast and watchful devotion had been his solace for nearly half a century. On no occasion, indeed, did he ever mention her name with disrespect; but strongly resenting, as far as we are able to discover, her interference on behalf of her eldest son, he treated her with a suspicion and distrust which naturally occasioned her the deepest affliction. "Possibly," writes Lord Auckland, "a change may take place for the better, but it is more likely to be for the worse; and, at any rate, likely to overset the whole of that admiration of private goodness and exemplary temper in domestic life which was very material to be preserved." "It is a melancholy circumstance," writes Lord Hobart, "to see a family that had lived so well together for such a number of years completely broken up."

The principal causes of the return of the king's disorder would seem to have been the excessive amount of mental as well as bodily labour which he imposed upon himself, a want of sufficient sleep, and certain painful dissensions, whatever they may have been, in the royal family. "Within the family," writes Lord Auckland, "are strange schisms, and cabals, and divisions among the sons and daughters." Every endeavour was made to induce the king to lie down and repose himself for two hours a day, but without effect.

Among other painful causes which at this time kept the king and queen asunder appears to have been a constant dread on her part lest at any moment the king might be seized, in her presence, by a sudden and violent paroxysm of frenzy. "The queen," writes Lord Colchester, "lives upon ill terms with the king. They never sleep or dine together." And again he writes: "The king is harassed by family disputes; the queen persists in living entirely separate." [1] The Prince of Wales, who visited his father about the end of November, brought back but a gloomy report of the state of his mind. "He had found things at Windsor," writes Lord Grenville to the Marquis of Bucking-

[1] Lord Buckinghamshire writes, about this time, to Lord Auckland: "By the little news I have been able to pick up in the course of this morning, I should imagine nothing can be more deplorable than the interior of a certain great house at Windsor; the whole family divided into parties, and everything going on as ill as possible."

ham, "as bad as they had been represented;" the king, indeed, having "a power of restraining himself, and talking rationally for some time and on some points, but no day passing without much of a different description, and many points very prevalent in his mind of a character extremely irrational." Not less distressing is the account bequeathed to us by Lord Malmesbury. "The queen," he writes, "will never receive the king without one of the princesses being present; never says in reply a word. Piques herself on this discreet silence, and, when in London, locks the door of her white room — her boudoir — against him. The behaviour of the queen alarms me more than all the others of Mrs. Harcourt's stories. For if the queen did not think the king likely to relapse, she would not alter in her manners toward him; and her having altered her manners proves that she thinks he may relapse."

The object which, of all others, the afflicted king at this period had most at heart, was to obtain, with the free will and consent of his eldest son, the care of the person and education of his granddaughter and heir presumptive, the Princess Charlotte of Wales, at this time in the ninth year of her age. The child was in every respect a most interesting one. "Yesterday, the 6th of August," writes the venerable Bishop Portens, "I passed a very pleasant day at Shrewsbury House, near Shooter's Hill, the residence of the Princess Char-

lotte of Wales.[1] The day was fine, and the prospect extensive and beautiful, taking in a large reach of the Thames, which was covered with vessels of various sizes and descriptions. We saw a good deal of the young princess. She is a most captivating and engaging child, and, considering the high station she may hereafter fill, a most interesting and important one. She repeated to me several of her hymns with great correctness and propriety; and on being told that when she went to Southend, in Essex, — as she afterward did, for the benefit of sea-bathing, — she would then be in my diocese, she fell down on her knees and begged my blessing. I gave it with all my heart, and with my earnest secret prayers to God that she might adorn her illustrious station with every Christian grace; and that, if ever she became the queen of this truly great and glorious country, she might be the means of diffusing virtue, piety, and happiness through every part of her dominions."

Certainly, Carlton House, with its graceless society and tainted atmosphere, was no eligible residence for a maiden heiress to a throne; nor was the home of her repudiated and indiscreet mother much less open to objections. But it was not alone — to use the king's words — that he de-

[1] At the time when Bishop Portens wrote, the little princess was residing in a separate establishment, presided over by Martha, Countess Dowager of Elgin, not far from her mother's villa at Blackheath.

sired to see his granddaughter brought up and "educated as a queen that is to be." The interesting child had also entirely established herself in his affections. The king delighted in children, and, accordingly, it was unfortunate for his happiness that, of his own offspring, even the youngest and best beloved, the Princess Amelia, had sprung up to womanhood. Under these circumstances, the king's gratification may be readily conceived when, in the preceding month of July, he had received, through the Earl of Moira, a communication from the Prince of Wales, intimating that nothing could be more highly satisfactory to his Royal Highness than that the king should take the Princess Charlotte under his immediate charge. "Undoubtedly," writes the king to Lord Eldon, on the 17th of that month, "the Prince of Wales's making the offer of having the dear little Charlotte's education and principles attended to, is the best earnest he can give of returning to a sense of what he owes to his father, and, indeed, to his country, and may to a degree mollify the feelings of an injured father; but it will require some reflection before the king can answer how soon he can bring himself to receive the publisher of his letters." Thus, armed with the authority of the prince, and little imagining that he would depart from his word, the king, previously to his departure for Weymouth, had given orders for a residence, close to the walls of Windsor Castle, to be prepared for the reception

of the princess, postponing further arrangements till after his intended return in November.

In the meantime, the vacillating prince, divided between the opposite counsels and exhortations of his friends, and especially of his female favourites, had begun to question the good policy of his recent proceeding. "The two factions," writes Lord Malmesbury, "pulled the Prince of Wales different ways. Ladies Moira, Hutchinson, and Mrs. Fitzherbert were for his ceding the child to the king; the Duke of Clarence and Devonshire House most violent against it, and the prince ever inclines to the faction he saw last. In the Devonshire House cabal, Lady Melbourne and Mrs. Fox act conspicuous parts; so that the alternative for our future queen seems to be whether Mrs. Fox or Mrs. Fitzherbert shall have the ascendency."[1] Lady Melbourne and Mrs. Fox carried the day. On the 19th of September, Charles Fox writes to Lord Grey: "His [Lord Moira's] advice to the prince, to offer the young princess to the king was certainly very bad; but I believe it was only folly, and the prince has, upon good pretences enough, done away the offer completely. Some accounts from Weymouth say the king is very well; others

[1] "There is no lady in the Prince of Wales's house," writes Lord Liverpool, "proper to have the care of his daughter. The lady [Mrs. Fitzherbert] with whom he is most connected is highly improper on many accounts, from the nature of her connection with his Royal Highness and from her religion."

the reverse. My way of reconciling them is, that he is better in health, but still insane."

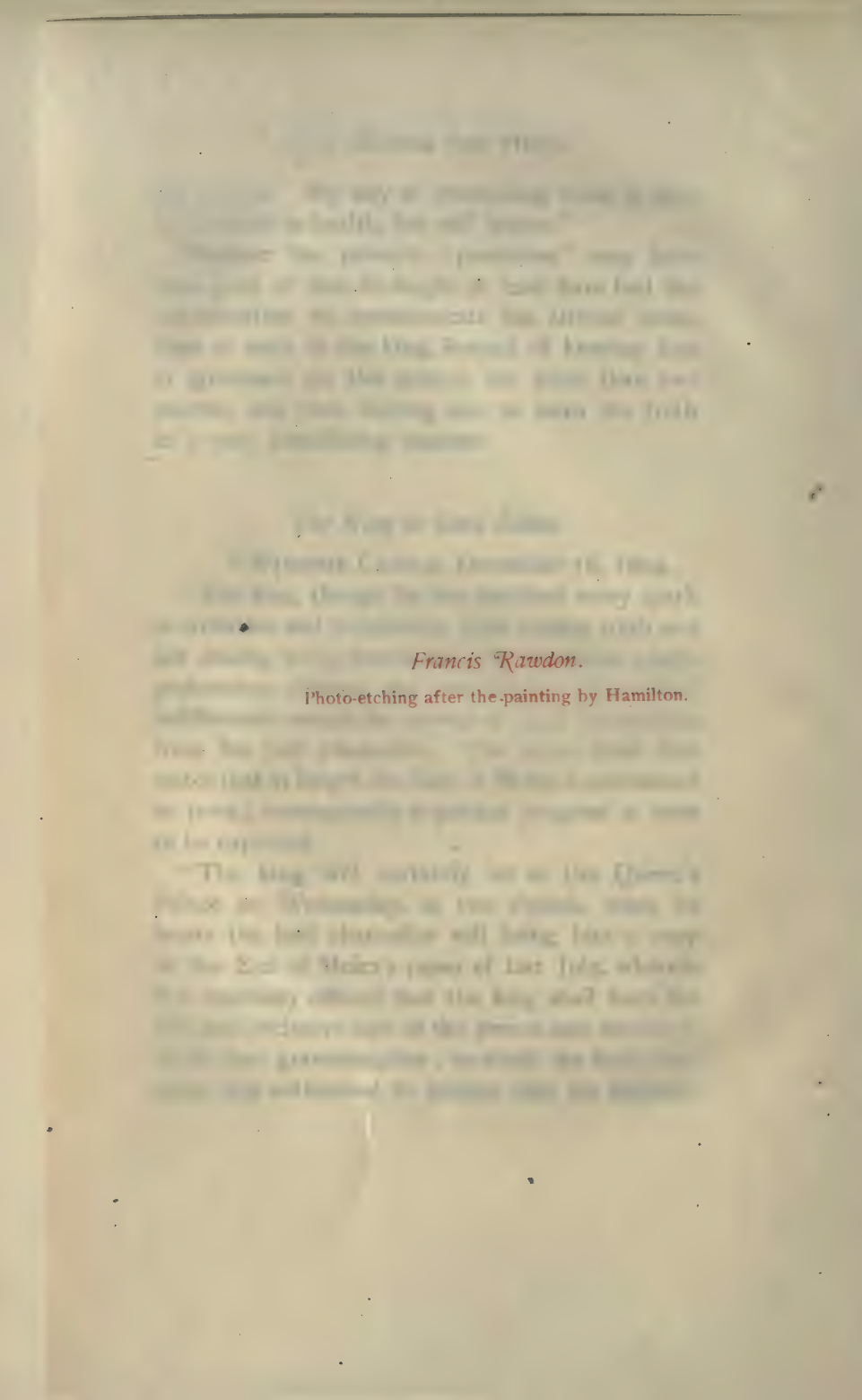
Whether the prince's "pretences" may have been good or bad, he might at least have had the consideration to communicate his altered intentions at once to the king, instead of keeping him in ignorance on the subject for more than two months, and then leaving him to learn the truth in a very humiliating manner.

The King to Lord Eldon.

"WINDSOR CASTLE, December 16, 1804.

"The king, though he has banished every spark of irritation and impatience, from feeling truth and fair dealing is the honourable line to combat misapprehension, chicane, and untruth, has with stoical indifference waited the arrival of some information from his lord chancellor. The letter from him states that at length the Earl of Moira is summoned to town; consequently a quicker progress is soon to be expected.

"The king will certainly be at the Queen's Palace on Wednesday, at two o'clock, when he trusts the lord chancellor will bring him a copy of the Earl of Moira's paper of last July, wherein it is expressly offered that the king shall have the sole and exclusive care of the person and education of his dear granddaughter; to which the lord chancellor was authorised to declare that his Majesty,



Francis Rawdon.

Photo-etching after the painting by Hamilton.

in taking the superior direction, never intended to destroy the due inspection and parental rights of both parents. GEORGE R."

In the meantime, pending the arrival of Lord Moira in London, the Prince of Wales would seem to have acted a very extraordinary part; denying, for instance, at one time, that he had ever entered into any engagement to consign his daughter to the care of the king, and, at another time, cruelly alleging, as an excuse for departing from that engagement, his father's intervening insanity. "The prince, it is said," writes Lord Colchester, "sometimes denies, and sometimes admits, that he had consented, but that it was before he had seen the king at Windsor."

Happily, the arrival of Lord Moira in London, and his conscientious testimony to what had passed in the summer, went far to smooth prevailing difficulties and doubts. "The difference now existing," writes the king to the chancellor, on the 24th of December, "may be easily remedied by explanation, but they will not be surmounted without it." "As far," writes Lord Liverpool, "as the prince's consent is of any importance, it was given at least five months ago in a letter from Lord Moira; and his lordship acts fairly and honourably in avowing the transaction." Eventually everything seems to have been arranged according to the king's wishes. For instance, in the course of the month we find

Lord Buckinghamshire writing to Lord Auckland that "everything is settled with the prince concerning the Princess Charlotte;" and, indeed, from the pen of the king himself we have a nearly similar intimation.

The King to Lord Eldon.

"WINDSOR CASTLE, January 5, 1805.

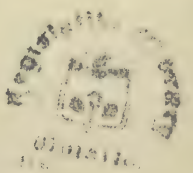
"The king authorises the lord chancellor to inform the Prince of Wales that he has received with satisfaction the answer to the paper which the lord chancellor sent to the Prince of Wales for his Majesty; and will in consequence proceed, with as little delay as the due consideration of so serious a concern requires, to state to the prince through the same channel, for the prince's consideration, the names of the persons that shall occur to his Majesty as most likely to suit the situations necessary for the care and instruction of his granddaughter, the Princess Charlotte, who has every gift from nature to render her capable of profiting by that care and attention which may render her in future an honour to her family, and a blessing to those who, if it pleases the Almighty to preserve her life, must in a future day acknowledge her as their sovereign."

Whatever, in the opinions of the Prince of Wales and Fox may have been the general state of the king's reasoning powers at this time, neither of

them, we conceive, could have framed a much more lucid and sensible document than the following rules which he drew up for the education of his beloved granddaughter. "The king," writes Lord Malmesbury, "sent his plan for the princess in writing to the prince by the chancellor. It was not only a very judicious and wise one, but drawn up most admirably, and full of fine and affectionate feelings."

"The Prince of Wales having, through the Earl of Moira, expressed his wish that the education and care of the person of his daughter shall be placed under the immediate inspection of the king, his Majesty is willing to take this charge upon himself, and has prepared a house at Windsor for the reception of the Princess Charlotte. The sum now issued each quarter out of his Majesty's civil list, for the maintenance and education of the young princess, should in future be paid into the hands of the person who shall be named by the king to defray those expenses, and such additional charges as may arise from the change of establishment shall be defrayed by the king.

"His Majesty proposes to name a bishop to superintend Princess Charlotte's education, as it cannot be that alone of a female; but she, being the presumptive heir of the crown, must have one of a more extended nature. His Majesty also thinks it desirable that the bishop should fix on a proper clergyman to instruct the young princess in



religion and Latin, and daily to read prayers. That there should be another instructor for history, geography, belles-lettres, and French, and masters for writing, music, and dancing. That the care and behaviour of the princess should be entrusted to a governess; and as she must be both day and night under the care of responsible persons, that a sub-governess and assistant sub-governess should be named.

"These seem to be necessary outlines to form such a plan as may make so promising a child turn out as it is the common interest of the king and his family, and, indeed, the whole nation, eagerly to wish. It may not be improper to add that the conduct of the Dowager Countess of Elgin [1] has been so exemplary that, though her age and weak state of health may make her retiring necessary, the king will give her a pension equal to her present salary."

In the meantime, a reconciliation had been effected between two statesmen who ought never to have quarrelled — Pitt and Addington. Not only at the time of Addington's removal from the premiership had he been greatly hurt and offended at being forced to make room for Pitt, but so late as the middle of November we find him spoken of as "more bitter than ever against the present min-

[1] Martha, daughter of Thomas Whyte, Esq., of London, banker, and widow of Charles, Fifth Earl of Elgin. She died in 1813.

isters." He was, however, by nature of a placable disposition. His old affection for Pitt had never entirely worn away; and lastly, his habits and inclinations led him to sigh for a return to office, even though he might never again be elevated to the high position which he had formerly occupied in the state. No sooner, therefore, did there appear a prospect of Pitt departing a little from his stately exclusiveness, and making some slight advance toward a reconciliation, than Addington was evidently prepared to meet him half-way. He felt himself to be "the party injured," he told Lord Colchester, and could not, therefore, stoop to make the first overtures, but let Mr. Pitt only do him the most trifling justice; let him but give utterance to a single genuine expression of remaining regard for him, and, though they could never again be the friends which they had formerly been, it would revive, in his own breast at least, much of the kindly feeling of former times.

At length, principally through the mediation of Lord Hawkesbury, it was arranged that a personal interview should take place between the rival statesmen. "I have seen the king to-day," writes Lord Hawkesbury to Addington, on the 19th of December, "who has expressed, in the strongest terms, his personal gratification at the revival of intercourse which is likely to take place between yourself and Mr. Pitt. I am confident this event

will of itself produce a very beneficial effect upon his health." Accordingly, on an appointed day, — Sunday, the 23d of December, — the interview took place at Lord Hawkesbury's seat, Coombe Wood, situated about two miles from Addington's residence in Richmond Park, and about the same distance from Pitt's villa on Putney Heath. "I rejoice to take you by the hand again," were Pitt's words, as he entered the apartment in which Addington was expecting him, and which Lord Hawkesbury immediately quitted in order to leave them alone together. The interview appears to have passed off in the most satisfactory manner. "As far," writes Addington, on the following day, "as a judgment can be formed from a conversation of three hours yesterday, and of an hour to-day, there is the fairest prospect of the renewal of old habits of intercourse and friendship. I must say," adds Addington, "that every part of Mr. Pitt's conduct, and every sentiment he uttered, convinced me that it is his ardent wish — as God knows it is mine — that past differences should be forgotten, and that our future conduct may manifest perfect coincidence of opinion, and the reëstablishment of former intimacy." Pitt, in a letter to his brother, Lord Chatham, dated the 25th, gives a similar satisfactory account of the interview.

Although Pitt's chief object in courting a reconciliation with his early friend was doubtless to

enable him to strengthen his administration by a union with Addington and his political followers, it would be unfair to him to suppose that private feeling had no share in influencing his conduct. It was, for instance, immediately after the reconciliation at Coombe Wood, that Wilberforce happening to call upon him, he induced him to take a stroll with him around the park. "I am sure," he said, "that you are glad to hear that Addington and I are one again." "And then," writes Wilberforce, "he added, with a sweetness of manner which I shall never forget, 'I think they are a little hard upon us in finding fault with our making it up again, when we have been friends from our childhood, and our fathers were so before us; while they say nothing to Grenville for uniting with Fox, though they have been fighting all their lives.'" "The reconciliation between Pitt and Addington," writes Mr. Thomas Grenville, "must have been sudden, as I know that only two days before, upon Pitt touching his hat as he passed by Addington, Addington observed to Dyson, who was riding with him, that even that greeting was new to him." The correctness of this rather interesting anecdote is corroborated by other authority. "Respecting the reconciliation of Pitt and Addington," writes a contemporary, "Dyson told me that he was riding with the latter in Richmond Park in December, 1804, when Pitt, passing, bowed to Addington. As no exchange of civili-

ties had for a long while subsisted between them, Addington expressed his surprise to Dyson. This, however, was followed the next day by an intimation from Pitt of his desire of renewing their ancient friendship. Addington relented, and they met the succeeding Sunday at Lord Hawkesbury's at dinner."

The following letters denote how deep was the interest taken by the king in the reconciliation of two individuals, for whom he not only entertained a personal regard, but by whose united efforts he trusted to be able to defend the royal closet from the forcible attacks of Fox and the Grenvilles.

The King to Mr. Pitt.

"WINDSOR, December 18, 1804.

"The king cannot omit one moment, after reading the note of Mr. Pitt, to express his joy at seeing the very proper state of Mr. Pitt's mind, in suggesting a willingness to call forth the assistance of Mr. Addington and his friends to the support of government. His Majesty has — from the first hour of meeting Mr. Pitt, the last spring, to engage him again into public life — intimated a desire of being the restorer of two friends to the state of affection which would be most gratifying to his own feelings, as well as advantageous to the ease of carrying on the public business.

"The king cannot conclude without suggesting his long-formed, and, he believes, just opinion, that

a pension for life, for his most upright and diligent discharge of the duties of Speaker of the House of Commons, is the true reward Mr. Addington should obtain, which would please the House of Commons, who have ever applied for such a provision in the case of his predecessors on retiring, who had not half his merit. And, in the present instance, it would flatter his Majesty's feeling, as the proposition cannot with propriety be brought forward but by a message from the crown, and the motion to be made on it stated by Mr. Pitt, of whose services to the public none has been more predominant than the proposing Mr. Addington, then a young man, for Speaker of the House of Commons. G. R."

The King to Lord Eldon.

"WINDSOR CASTLE, December 25, 1804.

"The king, with many compliments of the season, sends with infinite pleasure the two letters he has received this morning from Lord Hawkesbury and Mr. Pitt, to his lord chancellor. This reconciliation will give ease, and add much strength to his Majesty's administration, at which no man will more sincerely rejoice than the lord chancellor. GEORGE R."

The King to Mr. Pitt.

"WINDSOR, December 25, 1804.

"The king has received from Lord Hawkesbury the much-wished-for account of Mr. Pitt having

seen Mr. Addington at Coombe Wood on Sunday, and that he is convinced their early habitudes of cordial affection are renewed. This gives the king the more satisfaction, as he is fully satisfied that their personal attachment to him, and to this country, are the true causes of this most gratifying work.

"His Majesty could not refrain from giving Mr. Pitt this written testimony of his approbation, and has done the same to Mr. Addington. G. R."

The King to Mr. Addington.

"WINDSOR CASTLE, December 25, 1804.

"The king has received from Lord Hawkesbury the much-wished-for account of Mr. Addington having met Mr. Pitt at Coombe Wood on Sunday, and that he is convinced their early habitudes of cordial affection are renewed. This gives the king the more satisfaction, as he is fully sensible that their personal attachment to him, and to their country, are the true causes of this most gratifying event.

"His Majesty could not refrain from giving Mr. Addington this written testimony of his approbation, and has done the same to Mr. Pitt.

"GEORGE R."

The king, as we learn from Lord Colchester, addressed a fourth letter on the occasion to Mrs. Addington, which, in all probability, would be the most characteristic of all. This letter, however, if it exists, has not been selected by Dean Pellew for publication.

As Addington had now ceased to be in opposition to the government, there could of course no longer be any objection to the king renewing his former friendly and social intercourse with him and his amiable family, and accordingly we find him taking a very early opportunity of repeating his unceremonious visits to Richmond Park. "On Saturday morning, at ten o'clock," writes Addington to his brother, "his Majesty came here alone, without previous notice, and stayed till twelve. It is hardly possible for me to convey to you a just idea of the satisfaction he manifested. He spoke of you with the greatest kindness, and brought some papers for my perusal, which he directed me to bring to Kew yesterday, Wednesday, at twelve o'clock. This I accordingly did, and stayed with his Majesty while he ate his dinner, to which he sat down rather before one."[1] Again Addington writes to his brother, on the 29th: "I am just returned from Kew, where I passed an hour and a half with his Majesty, and partook of his dinner, which consisted of mutton-chops and pudding."[2]

On the 12th of January Addington was created Viscount Sidmouth, and on the 14th was sworn in as lord president of the privy council. "I am

[1] "Upon the Wednesday," writes Lord Colchester, "Mr. Addington went to Kew, where the king was dining, and commanded him, as he does any equerry, to be seated whilst the dinner was going on."

[2] It would appear by a letter from Horner to Sir James Mackintosh, dated the 19th of January following, that Addington a

glad," said the king, as he kissed hands, "to have you with me again." [1]

On the 18th of January, 1805, died, after a protracted illness, Dr. John Moore, Archbishop of Canterbury. As it was more than conjectured by well-informed persons, that Pitt was bent on elevating to the primacy his old tutor, and afterward secretary, Doctor Tomline, Bishop of Lincoln and Dean of St. Paul's, and, on the other hand, as it was whispered that the king was no less anxious for the advancement of Dr. Manners Sutton, Bishop of Norwich and Dean of Windsor, a good deal of interest as to the result was excited among the friends of the rival prelates. "Mr. Pitt," writes Bishop Tomline to Rose, on the 3d of

second time shared the king's homely fare at Kew: "On the 7th instant Addington dined at Kew *tête-à-tête*: an honour not conferred on any subject since Lord Bute."

[1] The following document, in the handwriting of George the Third, indorsed by him, "Draft of a message to both Houses of Parliament for granting a pension for life to the Right Honourable Henry Addington," is preserved among the Eldon MSS.: "The king is so fully impressed with the diligence and ability which the Right Honourable Henry Addington has shown in the discharge of the duties of Speaker of the House of Commons for twelve years, and of his handsomely coming forward three years ago to support his king and country, when attempts were harboured of the most dangerous tendency to the existence of our excellent church establishment, that his Majesty cannot doubt but the House of Commons will enable his Majesty to settle on the said Right Honourable Henry Addington the same pension for life which has been given to former Speakers of the House of Commons; such pension only to take effect when he shall hold no lucrative office under the crown."

December, "means to write fully upon the subject, which he thinks better than conversation in the present state of the king. I am confident that he will do everything in his power short of absolute force." The king, on the other hand, had, during his stay at Cuffnells, expressed his conviction to Rose that Pitt would throw no difficulties in the way of the elevation of Doctor Manners Sutton. Few persons, however, who knew the firmness of Pitt's character, expected that he would prove so accommodating as the king imagined. Nevertheless, the king succeeded in gaining the day. "If a private secretary of a first minister," he said, "is to be put at the head of the Church, I shall have all my bishops party men and politicians." The circumstances under which Doctor Sutton obtained the primacy have been variously related, but the true version would seem to be contained in the following extract of a letter from the Rev. C. R. Elrington to the late Mr. Croker. The writer especially refers to a passage in Sir Nathaniel Wraxall's "Posthumous Memoirs," which work had recently been severely handled in the *Quarterly Review*. "It requires no great sagacity to discover who is the author of the article on Sir N. Rascall.[1] There is some truth in his story of Pitt's opposition to the ap-

[1] A name given by the late George Selwyn to Sir Nathaniel Wraxall. The latter was returned to Parliament by Selwyn for his borough of Luggershall.

pointment of Archbishop Sutton, but he has spoiled it. It was a favourite story with Primate Stuart, who, by the by, did not love the premier more than Sir Nathaniel. The king received a message from Pitt that Archbishop Moore was dead, and that he would wait upon his Majesty the next morning. The king, suspecting the cause, ordered his horse, and rode over to Bishop Sutton, then residing at Windsor. He found he was at dinner with some friends, and sent in the servant to say a gentleman wished to speak to him. The bishop said immediately he could not go; but something in the servant's manner made him change his determination. When he came out he found the king standing in a little dressing-room near the hall door. The king took him by both hands. 'My Lord Archbishop of Canterbury [he said], I wish you joy. Not a word: go back to your guests.' On Pitt's arrival the next day, the king said to him he was sure he would be glad to have an opportunity of providing for a most deserving friend and relative. 'A friend, indeed,' said Pitt, 'but your Majesty is mistaken as to there being any relationship.' The king, not minding him, lashed on: 'And then it is such a good thing for his twelve children.' This was quite too much for the premier, and he said, 'Bishop Pretyman[1] I

[1] Bishop Pretyman had changed his name to Tomline, on coming into the possession of some valuable estates in Lincolnshire, in 1803.

am certainly most anxious to promote; but he is not my relative, nor has he such a family.' 'Pho! Pho!' said the king, 'it is not Pretyman whom I mean, but Sutton.' 'I should hope,' said Pitt, 'that the talents and literary eminence —' 'It can't be, it can't be; I have already wished Sutton joy, and he must go to Canterbury.'" Pitt, it seems, was exceedingly angry at having been overreached by the king. Lord Sidmouth told Dean Milman that he believed such strong language had rarely ever passed between a sovereign and his minister.

The King to Mr. Pitt.

"WINDSOR, Jan. 31, 1805.

"The king, on receiving Mr. Pitt's note, has directed Lord Hawkesbury to have the necessary instruments prepared for translating the Bishop of Norwich to the archbishopric of Canterbury. The bishopric of Norwich is worth £3,200 per annum, therefore may prove an agreeable transition to those of the less valuable sees."

CHAPTER VII.

The King in High Health and Spirits — Installation of the Knights of the Garter at Windsor — Death of the Earl of Rosslyn — Death of the King's Brother, the Duke of Gloucester — Proceedings against Lord Melville in Parliament — Pitt's Distress of Mind on the Occasion — Decay of the King's Eyesight — Secession of Lord Sidmouth from Pitt's Ministry — Friendly Parting between Them — The King's Old Friend, Mrs. Howe — Expedition to the Cape of Good Hope.

With the departure of the year 1804 appear to have gradually passed away that depression of spirits and those bodily ailments by which the king had been for so many months periodically afflicted. Moreover, he had fewer causes to distress him than previously to his illness. He had succeeded in strengthening a government which was agreeable to him; he was on as good terms with his eldest son as he was ever likely to be; and lastly, he was gratified beyond measure at having secured the guardianship of his interesting granddaughter, the Princess Charlotte. Under these circumstances, Windsor Castle once more became the occasional scene of gaiety, and even of splendour. On the 25th of February the

king gratified the younger princesses by giving a magnificent ball to four hundred guests, among whom were the Princess Charlotte, and eighty Eton boys, whom the good-natured king had himself gone to Eton to invite to the castle, and who, by his orders, were regaled in the presence-chamber. The next day the queen gave a morning fête in the gardens at Frogmore.

But a far more splendid show, of which Windsor Castle was at this period the scene, was an installation of the Knights of the Order of the Garter, which took place on St. George's Day, the 23d of April, 1805. The day, which happened to be a very beautiful one, was ushered in by the merry ringing of bells, and the rapid arrival of splendid equipages; while the town of Windsor, crowded as it was with military, and with persons in rich dresses, had seldom presented so picturesque an appearance. One painful incident alone — indicating, as it did, to the public, that in a season of unusual excitement the king's reason was still subject to partial derangement — tended, as will presently be perceived, to prevent the complete success of the ceremonial. In the meantime, we may introduce the following interesting MS. sketch from the pen of, perhaps, one of the very few survivors of those who played a part in the pageantry of the day:

"Holding a situation in his Majesty's household, I was summoned to be at the castle the day before

the installation. On driving up to the castle, a paper was put into my hands, stating where I was to lodge, and that a dinner would be provided for me at the castle the day of my arrival, the day of the installation, and the following day; so minutely had the king arranged everything for the comfort of his attendants.

"As my services were only required in the evening, at the banquet in St. George's Hall, I accepted an invitation to breakfast at the Deanery, and afterward to see the ceremony in the chapel. I accordingly repaired to the deanery at nine o'clock, in full court dress, and was afterward well seated in the queen's closet close to the altar, from which there is a good view of the whole of the chapel. At about half-past ten the queen, the princesses, and the Princess of Wales took their places on a raised platform, by the side of the altar, opposite the royal closet; with them numerous attendants, all gorgeously attired, and sparkling with diamonds. The Knights of the Garter occupied their respective stalls, in their purple robes, and caps with large plumes of feathers. The knights elect, of whom there were several, sat below them. At eleven the organ struck up; the doors were opened, and the king entered, followed by the Prince of Wales and the other princes of the blood, including the Duke of Gloucester and his son, Prince William, and their attendants. Never shall I forget the consternation, if not the horror, which the sight of the king

produced. He too wore the purple robe and the plumed cap, but he had on his head an enormous, well-powerded, flowing wig, such as we may see in some old pictures as worn by the lord chancellors and judges of those days. The ends of the wig flowed down his shoulders, and nearly covered his chest. This, added to an unusually red and anxious face, gave an immediate impression that nothing but insanity could have led to the king appearing as he then did. Quitting his stall, the king proceeded to the altar, bowing three times as he went up to it. There he made the usual offering, and retired. He was followed by the Prince of Wales, who had in the morning declared his repugnance to be made a puppet in his father's show. His bows were anxiously watched, and graceful they were. The most perfect silence prevailed while he advanced to the altar, and where his feelings could not have been of the most pleasant kind, in the presence of his repudiated wife.

"The scene in St. George's Hall was most splendid and imposing. The royal table was raised on a dais, at the head of which the king sat, still in his flowing wig. The Prince of Wales was on his right hand. Each member of the royal family was waited upon by a Knight of the Bath, and each Knight of the Bath by a young nobleman in a fancy dress. The Prince of Wales looked exhausted and out of spirits, nor did he exchange one word with the king during the whole of the

banquet. As soon as the prince was seated, he asked Sir Joseph Banks, who was behind his chair, for a tumbler of claret. It was brought, but I heard Sir Joseph whisper to him that it was a part of the ceremony that no one should drink till the herald had proclaimed the first toast. He therefore declined the tempting cup, much as he appeared to need it. At length the trumpet sounded, a toast was given, and wine was drunk *ad libitum* afterward.

"Down the hall, on the right-hand side of the throne, a table was prepared for the whole of the Knights of the Garter then present, at which they sat in their robes and plumed hats, with their backs to the wall. On the opposite side was a raised gallery, the whole length of the hall, in which the queen and princesses sat, and a goodly company of ladies in full court dresses. On the lower tier I remember that the celebrated Duchess of Gordon and Mr. Pitt sat together. The whole scene was of extraordinary brilliancy and interest, and such as probably will never occur again in this country. It was nearly dark when the king retired from the throne. The only 'take-off' was the king's wig and his very excited state of mind; and it was generally asserted at Windsor, on the day of installation, that the queen had not only used all her influence to induce the king not to appear in this monstrous wig, but, when this had failed, had gone down on her knees to implore him to alter his res-

olution ; but, as we have seen, without success.[1] It is painful to attend the king through his different attacks of mental aberration. Rather let us see him following his staghounds along his hundred miles of green drives in Windsor Forest, now, alas ! broken up, although perhaps one of the finest appanages to a royal residence in the world. Let us see him talking kindly and familiarly with his farm labourers, or entering their cottages, and sending them some present which might add to their comfort. Let us see him in the evening, reading Shakespeare to the queen and his daughters, and then retiring to rest with a mind conscious of no wrong, but, on the contrary, replete with kind, good, and benevolent feelings."

As the king was now in his sixty-seventh year, it was only to be expected that persons for whom he either entertained a personal regard, or who had been intimately associated with him in the political occurrences of his checkered reign, should begin to drop more frequently into the grave. On the 2d of January, 1805, died the Earl of Rosslyn, — more

[1] This was not the first occasion on which the king had appeared in public in this eccentric head-gear. Alluding to the opening of Parliament on the 15th of January, 1805, Horner, on the 19th, writes to Sir James Mackintosh : " While the king is as efficient as at present, we shall have the satisfaction of seeing things go on in their usual course, though he did make his gracious speech from the throne in one of those flowing brigadier wigs, which one sees in the old portraits of King William and Marlborough."

familiarly known as Alexander Wedderburn, and afterward as Lord Loughborough, — who, for some time past, had fixed his abode in the neighbourhood of Windsor. No one could be better acquainted than the king with the true character of that intriguing, though accomplished man; yet, as the ex-chancellor was not only his near neighbour, but as he was also endowed with a cultivated mind, and with courtly accomplishments, it was natural that the king should receive him, whether at his own concerts at the castle, or at the queen's parties at Frogmore, as a welcome guest. It was on this precarious evidence of royal favour, that Lord Rosslyn, though nearly in his seventy-third year, is said to have still nourished hopes of being reinstated on the woolsack. "He was laid on the shelf," writes Lord Brougham, "and, as his last move, he retired to a villa remarkable for its want of all beauty and all comforts,[1] but recommended by its near neighbourhood to Windsor Castle, where the former chancellor was seen dancing a ridiculous attendance upon royalty, unnoticed by the object of his suit, and marked only by the jeering and motley crowd that frequented the terrace. For three years he lived in this state of public neglect, without the virtue to employ his remaining faculties in his country's service by parliamentary attendance, or the manliness to use them for his own protection and aggrandisment."

[1] Baylis, near Slough.

On the last day of the year 1804, Lord Rosslyn had attended a party given by the queen at Frogmore, at which he appeared to be in excellent spirits, and where he remained till a late hour. Two days afterward, while seated at table, he was suddenly seized with gout in his stomach; his head dropped on one side; he never spoke afterward, and in a few hours was no more. When the news of his death was carried to Windsor Castle, the king, having so recently seen the assiduous courtier in apparently the best health, and in excellent spirits, could scarcely realise to himself the fact of his dissolution, and accordingly resolved on questioning the messenger himself. "Are you quite sure," he asked, "that his lordship is really dead?" The messenger having at length satisfied him on the point, "Then," he said, "he has not left a greater knave behind him in my dominions."[1] When this anecdote was related to Lord Thurlow, he manifested in a very characteristic manner his twofold dislike to the king and to the late earl. "Then," he said, with an oath, "I presume that his Majesty is quite sane at present."

Four months after the death of Lord Rosslyn, died William, Marquis of Lansdowne, better known

[1] Lord Campbell observes, and Earl Stanhope concurs with him, that this story seems to rest on undoubted authority. The latter heard it from several persons who were in public life at this time.

as the Earl of Shelburne, and as the "Malagrida" of former years. His death took place on the 7th of May, 1805, at the age of sixty-eight. The peerages represent him at the time of his decease to have been the oldest general on the army list.

Another death, which took place nearly at this time, was that of the king's last surviving brother, William Henry, Duke of Gloucester, who expired at Gloucester House, London, on the 25th of August, 1805, in the sixty-second year of his age. The king, it may be remembered, had loved him the best of any of his brothers up to the time of his clandestine marriage with the illegitimate daughter of Sir Edward Walpole, since which act of imprudence perfect cordiality had never been restored between them. The duke's decease, however, seems to have revived old memories and affections in the king's breast, so much so that we are told his mind was "deeply affected" by the event. Agreeably with the wish of the late duke, his remains were interred in St. George's Chapel, at Windsor, without having been subjected to the previous process of embalming.

The following selection of "royal letters," written at or about this period, can scarcely fail to be read with interest. They evince that, however unfilial may have been the conduct of one of the king's sons, there was at least one of them to whom he was an object of veneration and love; that, at a season when he was threatened with loss of vision

and with returning insanity, he nevertheless continued to interest himself as much as ever in the obligations and duties of life; that his affections remained unchilled, and that his afflictions were endured with uncomplaining submission to the will of Heaven.

It may be mentioned that, in consequence of the increasing decay of the king's sight, his speech from the throne, at the commencement of the session of 1805, was the last which he ever delivered personally in Parliament, and also that, to enable him to read it with the greater facility, it was printed. All the subsequent speeches from the throne, till the regency in 1811, were delivered by commission.

The Duke of Kent to Lord Eldon.

(Extract.)

"KENSINGTON PALACE,

"Saturday Morning, Feb. 9, 1805.

"The king is my object; to stand by him at all times my first duty and my inclination; and I think I cannot prove this more strongly than by pledging myself, as I did when first I received my peerage, spontaneously, always to support his servants where my feeble voice could be of use. I have ever acted up to this profession, and I ever will. But it is not my system to attend Parliament otherwise; therefore I solicit to be informed

by your lordship when I am wanted, that I may not then be absent. Having said this, I now beg leave to add that, as the king remains at Windsor till Tuesday, the 19th instant, it is my wish to be a couple of days with him in that time, and I therefore am anxious to learn from your lordship if I shall be wanted in the course of the next week, and on what days, so as not to be from here on such as you shall name."

The King to Lord Eldon.

"WINDSOR CASTLE, Feb. 18, 1805.

"The king authorises the lord chancellor to acquaint the Prince of Wales that his Majesty has this morning received notice of Mrs. Campbell's acceptance of her nomination as sub-governess of his dearly beloved granddaughter, the Princess Charlotte; thus completing the most necessary attendants on the young princess. The king approves of the Baroness de Clifford taking the charge of the princess, whenever it shall be most agreeable to the Prince of Wales. She will then be a better judge of the requisites necessary in the lady she may recommend as assistant sub-governess, who must be of sufficient birth to appear with the young princess in the absence of Mrs. Campbell.

"The Earl of Dartmouth has very handsomely consented to regulate the expenses of the young princess's establishment. GEORGE R."

The King to Lord Eldon.

"WINDSOR CASTLE, Feb. 25, 1805.

"The king is much pleased with the attention of his lord chancellor in acquainting him with the result of a conversation with the Earl of Moira, who certainly could not sanction the language held by the Prince of Wales to Lady de Clifford; and his Majesty, when he sees the lord chancellor on Thursday, will bring the question, in the coolest and smoothest manner, forward. Indeed, it is quite charming to see the princess and her child together, of which I have been since yesterday a witness; and I must add that Lady de Clifford's conduct is most proper, and will also be highly conducive to her meeting with my approbation.

"The lord chancellor's business is full excuse for his non-appearance this morning; but the king could not allow that any festivity should be under his roof to which the chancellor is not invited.

"GEORGE R."

The King to Lord Eldon.

"March 1, 1805.

"The preparations for establishing the Princess Charlotte at Windsor are now in such forwardness that the king can authorise the lord chancellor to acquaint the Prince of Wales that her apartments will be completely ready for her reception in two

weeks, and that he shall then give notice to Lady de Clifford for her removal to that place.

"From what he has seen of his dear granddaughter, in the few days he has been there, he doubts not but that, with the proper attention of those now placed to superintend her education, and the upright conduct in all situations of the governess who is to have the care of her, she will prove a blessing to her relations, and an honour to her native country.

"GEORGE R."

The King to Lord Eldon.

(Extract.)

"March 10, 1805.

"His Majesty must either have the whole care and superintendence of the person and education of the Princess Charlotte, or entirely decline any interference or expense. By this he by no means proposes to interfere with her visiting both the Prince and Princess of Wales when they require it, and will for that purpose fix her the next winter at Kensington for that season, that the prince and princess may with less inconvenience visit her, or send for her at that season to their respective houses. But Windsor will be her residence for the greatest part of the year, where she will have the advantage of excellent air and a retired garden, which will enable her quietly and with effect to pursue her studies, which certainly as yet have been but

little attended to. The lord chancellor is desired to take a copy for the king of this returned paper of instructions, and prepare the paper to be transmitted to the Prince of Wales, who certainly means further chicane. GEORGE R."

One or two of the following letters from the king will be found to refer to the celebrated charges brought forward in the House of Commons, on the 6th of April, by Mr. Whitbread, against Lord Melville, for having, while treasurer of the navy, connived at a system of peculation on the part of his deputy, Mr. Alexander Trotter, and also of malversation on his own part. On the 8th, a vote of censure was carried against Lord Melville by the casting vote of the Speaker. On the following day he resigned his appointment of first lord of the admiralty. His name was subsequently ordered to be struck off the list of privy councillors; and on the 25th of June the Commons passed a vote for his impeachment for high crimes and misdemeanours.

The King to Mr. Pitt.

"WINDSOR, April 9, 1805.

"The king, though much grieved at the cause, is not unmindful of the great propriety of Mr. Pitt in acquainting him instantly of the fate of the motion of censure on Lord Melville for having suffered Mr. Trotter to derive benefit from bal-

ances of the public money. His Majesty trusts that in Lord Melville there has been no culpability, though there has been a great want of caution; and, in truth, the letter of exculpation he has lately published has not much mended the appearance.

"His Majesty would not act as ingenuously in return if he did not mention the names that at the moment occur to him as worthy consideration as heads of the Board of Admiralty, — the Earl of Chatham, Lord Castlereagh, and Mr. Yorke, and, if a professional man, Lord Gardner.[1] But the king means to be totally unbiassed, to receive the names of any one of these, or any other person whom Mr. Pitt, on due consideration, may think best suited to support his administration.

"G. R."

The King to Lord Eldon.

"Windsor Castle, April 21, 1805.

"The king is by no means desirous of not giving the lord chancellor full time to consider the

[1] The minister's choice fell, not on any one of those persons, but on an octogenarian admiral, Sir Charles Middleton, created, on the 27th of April, 1805, Baron Barham, of Barham Court, and Teston, Kent. His exact age appears to be uncertain, but as he received his lieutenant's commission sixty years previously, in the middle of the reign of George the Second, he must, of course, have been tolerably advanced in years. The Prince of Wales told Lord Colchester that he was eighty-two. Lord Barham held the appointment of first lord of the admiralty from the 30th April, 1805, till February, 1806, and survived till the 17th of June, 1813.

proper mode of placing his dearly beloved granddaughter under his especial care, though not wishing, if it can be avoided, to infringe on the rights of either of her parents.

"His Majesty, at the same time that he should have thought the appearance of the lord chancellor a considerable ornament at the ensuing installation, yet he thinks it of much greater consequence that the lord chancellor should shake off the remains of gout, to be the better able to meet the warm debates that will be forwarded in the House of Lords, but which certainly will be of little avail.[1] GEORGE R."

The King to Mr. Pitt.

"WINDSOR, April 22, 1805.

"The king, from the moment of the unfortunate necessity of Lord Melville's resigning his seat at the Board of Admiralty, had no object but that Mr. Pitt should recommend as successor the person best qualified to supply the vacancy. As Mr. Pitt, on the whole, thinks Sir Charles Middleton answers that description, his Majesty will not object to it, nor to his being advanced to the rank of a baron; but his attending Cabinet meetings ought to be confined to subjects regarding the navy.

[1] The king evidently alludes to Lord Grenville's intended motion in the House of Lords, on the subject of the Irish Catholic claims. The motion was brought forward on the 10th of May, and was rejected by 178 votes against 49.

"At the same time, the king thinks that it would be advisable, on this addition to the peerage, to advance also Mr. Lygon, the member for the county of Worcester,[1] whose excellent character, steady support of government, and very large fortune, place him in a situation without just competitor.

"G. R."

The King to the Marchioness of Sligo.[2]

"Windsor Castle, April 28, 1805.

"The king desires the Marchioness of Sligo, if she finds a proper opportunity, to express to his invaluable friend, Mrs. Howe, the regret with which he has heard of her severe attack on the lungs; but as the account of yesterday was so much better than the former days, he greatly trusts that her known sense and resolution, added to great strength of constitution, will restore her health, and enable her to pursue her amusements as prior to this attack; and that he shall most sincerely rejoice at hearing her, with her usual vivacity, call to her assistance her favourite bishop. His Maj-

[1] William Lygon, for thirty years M. P. for the county of Worcester. On the 26th of February, 1806, six weeks after Mr. Pitt's death, he was created Lord Beauchamp of Powyke, and on the 1st of December, 1815, Viscount Elmley and Earl Beauchamp. He died the 21st of October, 1816.

[2] Louisa Katherine, daughter of Admiral Earl Howe, and wife of John Denis, first Marquis of Sligo. She married secondly William Scott, Lord Stowell, and died in 1817.

esty will be most anxious for the further account, expected by his dear daughter, Princess Amelia, this evening. GEORGE R."

The King to Mr. Pitt.

(Extract.)

"WINDSOR, May 5, 1805.

"Though the king is much hurt at the virulence against Lord Melville,[1] which is unbecoming the character of Englishmen, who naturally, when a man is fallen, are too noble to pursue their blows, he must feel the prudence and good temper of Mr. Pitt's proposing his being struck out of the Privy Council; and it is hoped, after that, the subject will be buried in oblivion. G. R."

The following note evinces the king's continued and determined opposition to the relief of the Irish Roman Catholic grievances. On the 13th of May

[1] "The transactions relative to Lord Melville," writes Lord Malmesbury, "exceeded in party spirit and savage feeling all that I ever recollect in this country. Admitting his guilt to its full extent (which I am far from doing), what can be said to the huzzas and shouts of the House of Commons upon his condemnation; Sir Thomas Mostyn giving a view-hollo, and a 'We have killed the Fox?' What would these very men have said to the judges and jury, had they behaved thus at the sentence of the most bloodthirsty felon? Disgraceful and un-English!" When Lord Henley walked into Brooks's, the day after the vote of censure had passed the House of Commons, he found the members, as he writes to Lord Auckland, "*ivres de joie.*"

a motion which Fox had brought forward on the subject was defeated in the House of Commons by 336 votes against 124. It was acknowledged by Pitt that he was still in favour of the emancipation of the Roman Catholics; still, so long, he said, as the king and the popular feeling remained opposed to the measure, he should resist its being carried through the House, and deprecate its being agitated.

The King to Mr. Pitt.

"KEW, May 15, 1805.

"The king is most extremely rejoiced at the great majority with which Mr. Fox's motion for a committee on the Catholic petition has been rejected, and he trusts that such decided majorities in both Houses of Parliament so strongly show the sense of the kingdom on this most essential question, — which his Majesty is convinced, if the opinions of the people without doors could be known, would prove a still larger majority on this occasion, — that he trusts it will never be brought forward again. G. R."

The King to Mr. Pitt.

"June 12, 1805.

"The king has great satisfaction in having just learnt from Mr. Pitt the appearance of the House of Commons yesterday on Mr. Whitbread's motion

for impeaching Lord Melville, and on the amendment of Mr. Bond for a prosecution in lieu of it, both of which, he thinks, can most justly be resisted. No one more sincerely blames the incorrectness of Lord Melville's conduct, but no one can be more averse to any further measures being taken against him. All that is necessary for example to futurity has been done, and anything more is a wanton punishing of a fallen man, which is not the usual conduct of an Englishman, who never strikes his enemy when at his feet. G. R."

Lord Melville, in the course of his political career, had more than once given offence to the king, who accordingly manifested but little sympathy for him, when informed of his arraignment by the House of Commons. "Is that all?" he calmly inquired; "I wonder how he slept after it. Bring my horse." Very different, however, had been the feelings of Pitt during the protracted and uncertain proceedings against his friend and colleague. Not only was Lord Melville's impeachment likely to break up his administration, but he and Pitt had fought together too often in the same ranks against the same unsparing foes, and had been too long and too intimately associated as boon companions and personal friends, not to render the fate of that friend and colleague a matter of deep personal as well as political interest to Pitt. Moreover, impaired health, and the toils and harass of

office, had begun to produce their baneful effect upon the nerves of the great statesman, and to render him much less capable, than he had formerly been, of supporting a heavy calamity like the present. As an instance of this painful alteration, his friend Wilberforce mentions the deep impression made upon him by Pitt's look and manner, when, on calling upon him in Downing Street, he saw his friend's eye glance for the first time over the tenth report of the commissioners of naval inquiry, containing the charges of corruption against Lord Melville. "I shall never forget," writes Wilberforce, "the way in which he seized it, and how eagerly he looked into the leaves, without waiting even to cut them open." Those, too, who happened to note the expression of his countenance in the House of Commons, at the moment when the casting vote of the Speaker carried the day against Lord Melville, were equally struck with the intensity of feeling which he betrayed. "I have ever thought," writes Lord Fitzharris,[1] "that an aiding cause of Pitt's death, certainly one that tended to shorten his existence, was the result of the proceedings against his old friend and colleague, Lord Melville. I sat wedged close to Pitt himself the night we were left 216 to 216, and the Speaker, Abbot, after looking as white as a sheet, and pausing for ten minutes, gave the casting vote against us. Pitt immediately put on the little cocked hat

[1] Afterward second Earl of Malmesbury.

that he was in the habit of wearing when dressed for the evening, and jammed it deeply over his forehead; and I distinctly saw the tears trickling down his cheeks." Lastly, not less painful to witness was his agitation when, on the 6th of May, on Mr. Whitbread's motion for an address to the king to remove the name of Lord Melville from the list of his Majesty's privy councillors, the great minister rose from his seat in the House of Commons, and, anticipating the hostile intentions of the House, intimated that the object of the honourable gentleman had already been accomplished, inasmuch as he had felt it his duty to recommend to his Majesty the erasure of the name of the late first lord of the admiralty from the list of privy councillors. He added, however, with much emotion, — and he did but echo the generous sentiments of the king, — "I confess, and I am not ashamed to confess it, that whatever may be my deference to the House of Commons, and however anxious I may be to accede to their wishes, I certainly felt a deep and bitter pang in being compelled to be the instrument of rendering still more severe the punishment of the noble lord." It was related to the late Lord Macaulay, by several persons who were present on this occasion, that at this moment Pitt could with the greatest difficulty suppress the poignant emotion by which he was oppressed. "As he uttered the word pang his lip quivered, his voice shook, he paused, and his hearers thought that he was about

to burst into tears. He suppressed his emotion, however, and proceeded with his usual majestic self-possession."

In the meantime, a blow of a different and of a more distressing character was awaiting the king. So late as the middle of April he might have been seen — apparently in excellent health and spirits — proceeding on horseback to the meet of the royal staghounds; yet, before the commencement of July, the sentence of blindness was virtually passed upon him, it being found necessary to break to him that a cataract had formed over one of his eyes, and that a second cataract was in process of forming over the other. To one whose habits were so active as were those of George the Third, such an announcement must have occasioned many a bitter pang; and yet, as Lord Colchester informs us, and as we shall find substantiated by the following letters, he bore the painful intelligence "with the most perfect composure and religious fortitude."

The Duke of York to Lord Eldon.

"HORSE GUARDS, July 3, 1805.

"MY DEAR LORD: — I am this moment favoured with your lordship's letter, and lose no time in returning you many thanks for your obliging attention to my recommendation in appointing Mr. Dowdeswell a commissioner of bankrupts.

"I am fully persuaded that your lordship participates in our affliction at the heavy calamity with which his Majesty is visited. I need not, I am sure, mention to your lordship the firmness of mind, meekness, and resignation with which he bears it. Your lordship and I know his Majesty well; but I am certain his worst enemy must pity and admire him upon the present most trying occasion. Believe me ever, my dear lord,

"Yours most sincerely,

"FREDERICK."

From Lord Colchester's Diaries we glean some further interesting particulars respecting the melancholy progress of the king's affliction. "Sir Joseph Banks," writes the Speaker, on the 4th of July, "saw the king to-day at Kew. A cataract is completely formed in one eye, of which he has lost the use for some weeks past. He has no direct vision with the other eye, but can see downward to distinguish what he walks upon. He knows persons at the distance of three or four yards. He has not been able to read a word for some time, but can sign as usual with great clearness and steadiness."

The king, previously to his eyesight having become worse, had proposed making a summer tour in the middle counties, anticipating with peculiar gratification a visit to his old friend, Bishop Hurd, at Hartlebury Castle. This project, however, was

now prevented; and accordingly, on the 5th of July, Lord Hawkesbury, by the king's desire, addressed a letter to the bishop, in which he communicated his Majesty's "deep regret" at being compelled to proceed to Weymouth direct. "I am sure," he adds, "your lordship will have particular satisfaction in hearing that the king has borne this last calamity, with which it has pleased Providence to afflict him, with all the fortitude and resignation which you so well know belongs to his character; that his spirits are cheerful, and that his general health has in no respect been impaired. We must all look forward with the greatest anxiety to the progress of the complaint. The medical persons who attend the king appear to be confident of the success of the operation, though they seem to think it will be some time before it would be prudent to attempt it."

It could scarcely have been with any other object than that of affording gratification to the venerable prelate, that the king, five days afterward, took up his pen, and wrote himself to him as follows:

The King to the Bishop of Worcester.

"WINDSOR CASTLE, July 10, 1805.

"The king being prevented by a complaint in his eyes from the great pleasure of visiting the Bishop of Worcester, on which he had placed the greatest satisfaction, though Lord Loughbor-

ough [1] has written to explain the cause of this disappointment, yet his Majesty thinks that a scrawl from himself may be satisfactory to the good bishop, when containing a promise that, should the Almighty permit the evil to be removed, the visit will be performed next summer.

"The king cannot conclude without expressing his hopes then to find his excellent friend in as good health as he has now reason to think is the case. His Majesty has collected some books for the library at Hartlebury Castle, and will order them to be sent to Worcester.

"GEORGE R.

"*To the Lord Bishop of Worcester, Hartlebury Castle, Worcestershire.*"

An untoward circumstance, which at this time occasioned great distress to the king, was the secession of Lord Sidmouth from the ministry, a step which could scarcely fail to entail upon the government almost insurmountable difficulties. The new viscount, by nature sensitive and punctilious, was unable, with all his good sense and sterling qualities, to forget that he had once been first minister of the Crown; and consequently he was inclined to exact a deference, and to claim a right of interference in the administration of public affairs, to which the haughty nature of Pitt was very little disposed to submit.

[1] Query, Lord Hawkesbury?

Already, even so soon after their reconciliation as the month of April, an open rupture had very nearly taken place between them. Pitt, as we have seen, had obtained the king's consent to Sir Charles Middleton being placed at the head of the Board of Admiralty; whereas, Lord Sidmouth was anxious that the appointment should be conferred either upon the Earl of Buckinghamshire, one of the secretaries of state, or else upon some other person at present in office, in order to make room in the government for one or more of his own family connections. Disappointed in obtaining this concession from Pitt, his annoyance appears to have been very great. "I deplore," he writes to him, on the 22d of April, "the choice you have made. It will, I fear, have the effect of weakening and lowering the government at a time when it is peculiarly important to give it additional strength, and to raise its character. To me it is decisive proof that my continuance in office could neither be useful to the public nor honourable to myself." "I must prepare for the fête at Frogmore," he writes to his brother, on the 25th. "My reflections when there will be uncomfortable. The gaieties will soon be over, and God knows what will follow."

Once more, however, the two ministers became friends; and friends they might possibly have remained but for the unpardonable offence given to Pitt by Lord Sidmouth's relatives voting in

Parliament for the impeachment and prosecution of Lord Melville. A caricature by Gillray, published at the time, represents Lord Melville as the "wounded lion" in the fable, lying helpless on the ground, with some jackasses on the point of attacking him. "Very highly indebted to the lion, Brother Hiley," exclaims one jackass. "Then," says another, "kick him again, Brother Bragge." Such an "appearance of hostility and defiance," on the part of Lord Sidmouth's friends, must, as Pitt plainly intimated to their leader, prevent him for the present "placing them in high situations;"[1] and accordingly the latter, thus unambiguously apprised of his want of influence, not only came to the determination of separating himself from the administration, but, a few days afterward, entered the royal closet after the king had held a Privy Council, and formally resigned his appointment as its president. The king, though much hurt, if not offended, at his conduct, in thus risking the existence of the government, nevertheless treated him with a kindness to which the ex-minister made a somewhat ungracious return. Happening, on his way home from the palace, to encounter Sheridan, who, as the personal friend of the Prince of Wales, and a violent opposition leader, was the last person to whom any

[1] It was necessary, said Pitt, that their conduct should be "marked," an expression which seems to have given great offence to Lord Sidmouth.

important change in the Cabinet ought to have been communicated, he not only imparted to him the fact of his resignation, but intimated, somewhat pompously perhaps, that he was at liberty to divulge it to the prince. Unfortunately for him, his officiousness had the double effect of occasioning great annoyance to the king and of eliciting for him anything but thanks from the heir to the throne. "What," said the prince, "does the d——d insignificant puppy mean by troubling me?" "As to Lord Sidmouth," writes Lord Henley, "he is, to make use of a vulgar phrase, quite 'done up,' and deservedly, for there is much of folly, not to give it a stronger appellation, in his communication to Sheridan, and irreverence to the good king in the business." [1] "The doctor," writes Fox to Lord Holland, on the 6th of July, "has chosen a bad time for his resignation, as Pitt can certainly go on without him while Parliament is not sitting, and by these means gains time for all sorts of negotiation. That all these negotiations will fail, I am sure; but the doctor could not be so, and

[1] It should be mentioned that this was not the first occasion of Lord Sidmouth's having given similar offence to his sovereign. At the time that the negotiation for Pitt's return to power was being carried on, in 1804, — he himself being the king's confidential minister at the time, — he was weak and ill-advised enough to tell his friends that "he knew his Majesty did not wish Mr. Pitt to come in." So displeased was the king at the time, that, as he afterward told Rose, he had made up his mind, in the event of the negotiation with Pitt breaking off, at all events not to retain Addington at the head of the government.

therefore his folly in this, as in everything else, is beyond all ordinary conception." It should be mentioned, in justice to the king, that on the occasion of this second rupture taking place between his two favourite ministers, he declined, notwithstanding the deep importance which it was to him to keep the present administration in power, to throw his weight into the scale on either side. "You and Mr. Pitt," was his simple reply to Lord Sidmouth, when the latter attempted to make him a referee in the business, "ought to talk over matters together, and not have any go-betweens."

The farewell interview between the king and Lord Sidmouth took place at Windsor, on Sunday, July the 7th. In the meantime, Lord Sidmouth's conduct, in not only abandoning the government at a time of national peril, but in volunteering to make a confidential communication to the king's political enemies, had very naturally had the effect of incensing his Majesty against him. No doubt, when Addington told his friends that at his interview in the royal closet, on the 7th, the king had not only "spoken to him in the most gracious manner," but had "peremptorily urged the making a provision" for him, he stated no more than what were facts. Nevertheless, that the king neither felt nor expressed such complete approval of Addington's conduct, as Addington would apparently have had his friends believe, there is ample evidence for inferring. "When he went to the

king," writes Lord Malmesbury, "Addington very foolishly offered his Majesty the key to the council-box. 'You must not give it to me,' said the king, rather offended, 'but to Lord Hawkesbury.' 'Sir,' replied Addington, 'I am not on speaking terms with Lord Hawkesbury.' 'This is nothing to me,' said the king, and would have ended the audience." The prosy ex-minister, however, — incapable, apparently, of taking the hint, — persevered in forcing his conversation upon the king for more than an hour longer. Never, since the days of George Grenville, said the king to Mr. George Villiers,[1] had he been tormented by so fatiguing an interview. Three days ago, he added, Addington had thought proper to communicate to Sheridan the fact of his retirement, and surely, therefore, he might have spared him the worry of two hours' conversation on the subject. "That ——" he exclaimed, on rejoining his family, "had been plaguing him to death."[2] Nevertheless, "fatigued and displeased" as the king is described as having been, he was happily able, on making his appearance on the terrace in the afternoon, to conceal his feelings from his subjects. "We learned," writes Lord Henley, "that Lord Sidmouth had had a very long audience. What had passed was

[1] Father of the present Earl of Clarendon.

[2] The king complained that Lord Sidmouth had in his last audience tired him for two hours. The king has told Mr. Pitt that he will stand or fall by Mr. Pitt.

not even conjectured, and certainly no conjecture could be formed from the king's face, for he was in very good and even spirits. Lord Sidmouth did not appear on the terrace." Fox, however, appears to have been better informed as to the true state of the king's feelings. "I am told," he writes, on the 8th, "that though the king seemed to bear everything very composedly at first, he has since shown many symptoms of flurry and agitation." "In all this business," writes the king's well-informed neighbour, Lord Henley, on the 11th, "very little regard has been paid to the poor king's feelings, which, at the moment of the most cruel visitation with which human nature can be afflicted, all those who love him must more particularly feel. He was evidently affected last night, and all the family was low. The Princess Charlotte, by her endearments, had wrought upon his feelings, and he spoke of her with much tenderness. He had seen Phipps[1] at six o'clock, and a gentleman whom he had lately couched of both eyes at an interval of three weeks, and with perfect success. I was sorry to see the king with a glass of a very near-sighted man; for though it enables him to distinguish objects, yet it must fatigue his eyes.

[1] The eminent oculist, afterward known as Sir Wathen Waller, Bart. He married, 13th September, 1812, Sophia Charlotte, Baroness Howe in her own right, daughter and heiress of Admiral Earl Howe, and widow of the Hon. Penn Assheton Curzon, eldest son of Assheton, first Viscount Curzon.

Lieutenant-Colonel Taylor, of the Duke of York's office, is to attend him as secretary, to assist him in reading, etc." [1] It has already been mentioned, on the direct authority of Colonel, or rather Sir Herbert, Taylor, that this was the first occasion of the king having employed a private secretary.

Happily the political connection between Addington and Pitt closed in a more satisfactory manner to both of them than might have been expected. At a meeting which took place between them on the 6th of July, at Pitt's villa on Putney Heath, scarcely more than six months before the death of the great minister, they parted not only on friendly, but on affectionate terms. "Has there been anything in my conduct at any time," asked Lord Sidmouth, "inconsistent with what was due to a friend?" "Never," was Pitt's reply, at the same time, with tears standing in his eyes, taking the other's hand. "I have nothing to acknowledge from you but the most generous and honourable conduct, and I grieve that we are to part." When, at the end of September, Lord Sidmouth happened to be borne down by family affliction and bodily disease, Pitt

[1] "The king's eyes," writes Lord Colchester, on the 10th, "are proceeding regularly toward the formation of complete cataracts, and they are expected to be fit for the operation in about three months. Mr. Pitt has recommended Col. Herbert Taylor, the Duke of York's military secretary, to be confidential person employed in reading despatches to the king, and writing for him during his blindness."

paid him a visit at his lodge in Richmond Park, where the two friends once more met and parted in kindness. It was destined that they should never meet again.

On the 12th of July the court quitted Windsor for Weymouth, from which place the earlier accounts of the king's condition proved to be sufficiently gloomy. "I have just seen two letters from Weymouth," writes Lord Henley, on the 23d; "the first says that on Thursday the king had a considerable degree of inflammation in his eyes, which had a little abated the two following days; that, however, he still rode out, though only a foot-pace, and immediately preceded by a groom; and went to the play, which hitherto was not crowded or hot; that Phipps had arrived on the Sunday, and had said that the inflammation might produce much good or much evil; that he had applied leeches, and said that he would remain with his Majesty till the inflammation was removed, and, in short, as long as his presence could be of any use. The letter concludes by saying, 'The king is very low; so are we all.' The other letter contains only two lines, saying leeches have been applied, and with success, and the king is easier. All this is very disheartening. The weather at Weymouth was deplorably bad."

Notwithstanding the foregoing unsatisfactory account, the king had not been long at Weymouth before not only his spirits, but his eyesight also,

greatly improved. Accordingly, again we find him enjoying his walks on the esplanade; again, with his natural, cheerful unaffectedness, conversing with the company in the assembly rooms; again making yacht excursions on the sea, or reviewing the troops on land. The birthday of his beloved daughter, the Princess Amelia, on the 7th of August, enabled him to confer pleasure upon others besides his family and himself. On that day he entertained a brilliant company at the principal hotel at Weymouth, and though he was himself not present at the banquet, he received and welcomed his guests at a ball given by the queen in the evening. When Pitt returned from Weymouth to London, about the middle of September, he told the Speaker of the House of Commons that, during the twenty years that he had been acquainted with the king, he had never known him in so "settled and composed a state of mind."

The next few lines are probably the last ever addressed by the king to his old, and now venerable, favourite, Mrs. Howe. She lived, however, for several years longer, beloved and respected by a large circle of friends. In Nichols's "Literary Anecdotes of the Eighteenth Century," there is an interesting description of her, in 1814, as "a very extraordinary woman, born in 1720, and still living in Grafton Street, who, though deaf, still talks, reads, writes, and plays at cards, at ninety-

three, with all the spirit and life of a girl; dresses in powdered hair, triple ruffles, furbelowed gowns, and is a fine model of the costume of the old court." Mrs. Howe died June the 29th, 1814.

The King to the Honourable Mrs. Howe.

"ROYAL SOVEREIGN, OFF PORTLAND, July, 1805.

"The king takes up his pen to acquaint Mrs. Howe that he certainly sees better than he did some days past, and begins to flatter himself that with time he shall regain perfect sight.

"GEORGE R."[1]

To the Bishop of Worcester, also, the king writes on the 10th of the following month: "No one ever experienced a more striking instance of the protection of divine Providence than I have done. The cataract was first formed in the left eye, and much advanced in the right one, but by an unexpected inflammation in the left eye, this had dispelled the apparent mischief in that eye; and that in the other also diminished, so that Mr. Phipps seems sanguine that he will effect a cure. Did I not feel, my good lord, how you interest yourself, I should not have been so particular on this occasion."

[1] The original is stated to have been "written evidently while vision was yet very imperfect," and, indeed, to be scarcely legible.

The next letter contains an interesting reference to the successful, but at this time most secret, project of capturing the colony of the Cape of Good Hope from the Dutch. A few days previously to the date of it, Lord Castlereagh had been appointed secretary of state for war and the colonies.

The King to Viscount Castlereagh.

"WEYMOUTH, July 24, 1805.

"The king most cordially approves of the proposal of attempting the reduction of the Cape of Good Hope, and of the intended commanders of the fleet and army; and sees so forcibly the advantage of no delay, that he authorises Lord Castlereagh, should the Cabinet approve of the idea, that not an hour be lost in putting the execution of it into effect. GEORGE R."

The expedition against the Cape of Good Hope — consisting of a military force of five thousand men, under Major-General Sir David Baird, and a naval squadron, under Admiral Sir Home Popham — sailed from England in the month of August, 1805, and arrived off the Cape on the 4th of January, 1806. On the 8th of that month, the British force encountered the Dutch, and forced them to betake themselves to a precipitate retreat. Subsequently, the Dutch governor, General Janssens, stipulated to surrender the whole of

the colony and its dependencies, as well as all the rights of the Batavian government, to his Britannic Majesty, on condition of the Dutch forces being carried back to Holland at the expense of the British government, without the reproach of being regarded as prisoners of war.

The King to Viscount Castlereagh.

"WEYMOUTH, August 22, 1805.

"The king is grieved to find that Lord Castlereagh has thought it expedient, from the very unfair conduct of his opponents, to decline any further contest, but fully approves of the decision he has taken. His Majesty is much pleased that the expedition under the command of Sir David Baird is to meet with no further delay.

"GEORGE R."

The King to Viscount Castlereagh.

"WEYMOUTH, September 13, 1805.

"The king by no means objects to the instructions to be sent to the Marquis Cornwallis [1] and Sir David Baird, though — having much attachment to the idea of the Cape remaining a British possession — [he] hopes the necessity will not occur of being obliged to abandon it for succouring the forces in the East Indies.

[1] Charles, First Marquis Cornwallis, Governor-General of India, died on the 5th of the following month at Gawnpoor in Benares.

"As to active operations from hence this autumn, his Majesty is not sanguine. Without prior arrangements for collecting horses and magazines on the Continent, he sees no means of subsisting any troops that may be desired for such service. GEORGE R."

The next letter is apparently the last written by the king to another venerable friend, Bishop Hurd:

The King to the Bishop of Worcester.

"WEYMOUTH, September 5, 1805.

"MY GOOD LORD: — Though in want of newspaper intelligence, from my knowledge of the propriety of the Archbishop of Canterbury, I give faith to his having visited the great ornament of Emmanuel College [Bishop Hurd], whilst residing at Cheltenham. This makes me desirous of hearing what impression he has made. I flatter myself a good one; not doubting, if better known there, my choice would meet with approbation, as he has on all public occasions shown himself equal to his situation.

"I have every reason to flatter myself that my sight is improving; yet I fear this specimen will not prove the assertion, as you, my good lord, might expect.[1] The gain can be but gradual,

[1] On the 15th of this month the king concludes a letter to Mr. Pitt: "His Majesty's sight will not allow him to add more,

objects growing brighter, though not as yet much clearer. In all situations, believe me ever, my good lord,

"Yours most affectionately,

"GEORGE R.

"*To the Lord Bishop of Worcester, Hartlebury Castle, Worcestershire.*"

On the 4th of October the king and the royal family returned from Weymouth to Windsor.

as, though he gains some ground, he can neither read what is written to him nor what he writes." "A great change of hand-writing," observes Lord Stanhope, "appears in this letter and all those of subsequent date. It has grown much larger, and the characters are very indistinct and ill-formed."

CHAPTER VIII.

The King's Mental and Bodily Health — His Grief at the Death of Nelson — Habits and Tastes of Queen Charlotte — Rejects Pitt's Advice to Admit Lord Grenville and Fox into the Cabinet — Capitulation of Ulm and Battle of Austerlitz — Pitt's Deep Distress at the Success of Napoleon's Arms — Pitt's Last Illness and Death — Parliamentary Vote for Defraying His Debts — His Funeral — Feelings of Lord Grenville and Fox on Receiving Intelligence of His Death.

THE king's health, bodily as well as mental, had unquestionably benefited by his visit to Weymouth. Though occasionally subjected to depression of spirits caused by the uncertain and sometimes alarming state of his eyesight, he is reported to have been, generally speaking, "well in body and in mind." "Our good king," writes Lord Henley to Lord Auckland, on the 1st of November," continues, mind and body, sight excepted, better than I have seen him for years. I forgot to tell you that he plays at commerce without any further assistance than he derives from his spectacles. He was last night in good spirits, that he had nearly got rid of his cold without its having affected his eyes,

and was cheerful; in short, was himself. He talked much of Mack,[1] of whom he thinks as I do. This morning I met him in the park, at ten o'clock, and rode with him till a quarter past one. He was cheerful, and we had more than one of his hearty laughs, which I have not heard before for some time. He talked to me, indeed, in an affecting manner, of his situation, saying that he had tried this morning, but in vain, to read the docket of one of the despatches, but is convinced that he perceives an amendment, and that even with the left eye he can perceive the light. Lady Henley says that he presented the muffins to the ladies last night in his old jocose and good-humoured manner."

As the king's sight became more and more impaired, his letters to his correspondents naturally became fewer and fewer. He was enabled at times, however, to take up his pen, and the excellent use he made of it may be seen by his correspondence.

The King to Viscount Castlereagh.

"KEW, October 16, 1805.

"The king highly approves of the proposal of sending five thousand British infantry with the in-

[1] Alluding to the celebrated capitulation of General Mack, at Ulm, on the 17th of October, by which thirty thousand Austrians laid down their arms to the French.

fantry of the German legion to the Elbe; as also the light regiment of dragoons of that legion, under the command of Lieutenant-General Don, who is very properly to proceed in the first instance to Berlin, and, on his return to the Elbe, to order the disembarkation of the troops if there is no objection to that taking effect.[1]

"A good proportion of arms and ammunition ought to be sent with this corps, to arm the Hanoverians that will certainly flock to our standard.

"As to the proposed attempt on the Boulogne flotilla, his Majesty does not place much expectation of success;[2] though, if it be attempted with prudence, no great risk may be run, and if successful the event will be most salutary.

"GEORGE R."

[1] The king alludes to the well-known expedition to the North of Germany, planned by Pitt and Lord Castlereagh, which it was hoped would have the double effect of recovering Hanover from the French, and making a diversion in favour of the Austrians. It was commanded in the first instance by General Don, and afterward by Lord Cathcart. It was in this expedition that the late Duke of Wellington first commanded a brigade.

[2] The king evidently alludes to a favourite project on which Mr. Pitt was intent, and in which he seems to have been supported by Lord Castlereagh, for destroying the French flotilla at Boulogne. "I still entertain considerable hopes," writes Pitt to Castlereagh, on the 6th of October, "of something effectual being done by the rockets, and I trust you will not have had much further difficulty in overcoming the objections both of Lord Keith and the admiralty. Your answer to Lord Barham places the subject exactly in the true light."

The King to Lord Eldon.

"KEW, October 22, 1805.

"The king is so thoroughly acquainted with the uniform political conduct of Mr. Alderman Shaw, that he cannot have the smallest objection to authorise the lord chancellor to give his fullest approbation to the city election of the lord mayor for the ensuing year. GEORGE R."

The following letter is doubly interesting, as being apparently the last which the king ever addressed to Mr. Pitt, and from its reference to the recent glorious victory and death of Nelson at Trafalgar.

The King to Mr. Pitt.

"WINDSOR, November 11, 1805.

"The king cannot refrain from just expressing to Mr. Pitt the joy he feels at the good news now forwarded to him of the capture of four of the line-of-battle ships that had escaped on the 21st of last month.

"His Majesty has just received from Lord Hawkesbury an extract of Lord Nelson's will concerning his funeral, which has enabled directions to be given for his being buried at St. Paul's with military honours, which the brilliancy of the victory seems to call for. GEORGE R."[1]

[1] Lord Nelson's will contains no directions as to the disposal of his remains in the event of his dying abroad. "First, in the event that I shall die in England, I direct my executors herein-

The mingled feelings of gratification and sorrow with which the king received the intelligence of the battle of Trafalgar — gratification at the great victory which had been won, and sorrow at the loss of Nelson — are shown by two interesting private letters, which, by the king's command, Sir Herbert Taylor addressed to William Marsden, secretary of the admiralty. "However," writes Sir Herbert, from Windsor Castle, on the 6th of November, "his Majesty rejoices at the signal success of his gallant fleet, he has not heard without expressions of very deep regret the death of its valuable and distinguished commander, although he added that a life so replete with glory, and marked by a rapid succession of such meritorious services and exertions, could not have ended more gloriously. I have not upon any occasion seen his Majesty more affected." And again Sir Herbert writes, on the following day, "Every tribute of praise appears to his Majesty due to Lord Nelson, whose loss he can never sufficiently regret."

The King to the Cabinet.

"WINDSOR CASTLE, November 27, 1805.

"The king should not do justice to his ministers if he did not trust that they have duly con-

after named (unless his Majesty shall signify it to be his pleasure that my body shall be interred elsewhere) to cause my body to be interred in the parish church of Burnham Thorpe, in the county of Norfolk, near the remains of my deceased father and mother, and in as private a manner as may be."

sidered the very strong measure they are now recommending; but as he has by fatal experience seen former expeditions fail from being too hastily undertaken, he cannot but state that it occurs to him that, in the present much exhausted state of his electorate it will be impossible to find provision for so large an augmentation to the force now [leaving?] there, and that without . . .[1] it will be impossible for the forces to proceed from thence, and that, till the French are driven from Hamelen, my electorate is in a most dangerous situation, if the British and Russians leave that country to such a friend as Prussia, or an enemy as France.

"These ideas make me wish the measure may be [calmly] examined before final orders are given for an embarkation at so late a period of the year. But, should means be found to dispel these difficulties, the king cannot but think Lord Cathcart a very proper person to command such an expedition. GEORGE R."

The King to Viscount Castlereagh.

"WINDSOR CASTLE, November 30, 1805.

"The king has just been informed of Lord Castlereagh's note, forwarding the bulletin from the Tyrol. It is impossible, even at so early a

[1] The words which are omitted here were illegible in the king's letter.

date, not recurring to the Austrian vapour that the fall of Vienna should not oblige their making terms with the French. His Majesty hopes no British money will be forwarded to these ignominious courts.

"The idea of sending any corps to Holland is quite out of the question. After this fatal event, nothing can move from here to that quarter. It must be seen what part Russia and Prussia will pursue. If they have common prudence they will cordially join, and, in the spring, attack France and her new ally. GEORGE R."

Lieutenant-Colonel Taylor to Lord Castlereagh.

"WINDSOR, December 20, 1805.

"I have had the honour of laying before his Majesty the various papers which accompanied your lordship's letter on the subject of the late events in Moravia, for the communication of which I am commanded to return you many thanks. His Majesty considers them extremely interesting, and as all tending to confirm the reports, transmitted yesterday, of the successful result of the arduous contest of the 2d, 3d, and 4th instant." [1]

[1] The king alludes to a report of a great victory having been obtained over the French near Austerlitz, but which proved to be without foundation.

The King to Lord Eldon.

"December 20, 1805.

"The king, on consideration, thinks that the lord chancellor may not have kept a copy of the extraordinary paper he has transmitted to his Majesty, therefore has had a copy made for the use of the lord chancellor. His Majesty has not the smallest idea of what, it is supposed, is well known by the lord chancellor, but thinks no notice should be taken till the arrival of Lord Moira. The king fears that the unhappy delay of many months has given rise to this fresh chicane.

"GEORGE R."

The King to Lord Castlereagh.

"WINDSOR CASTLE, December 27, 1805.

"The king consents to Lord Castlereagh's proposal that Sir John Anstruther be permitted to resign his seat on the bench at Calcutta, and receive the pension allowed after having held that situation seven years. Sir Henry Russell to succeed him, and Sir William Burrowes to succeed the latter. GEORGE R."

The King to the Cabinet.

"WINDSOR CASTLE, January 14, 1806.

"The king directed Lieutenant-Colonel Taylor to state, in a confidential letter, his Majesty's sentiments, on the fullest consideration, of the present

dilemma in which his own and his family's interest in Germany are placed by the untoward events that have arisen in Germany; and in consequence of which he has already sent orders to Count Munster by no means to enter into any negotiation with Prussia; and as his Majesty decidedly thinks that his dominions being in the hands of an open enemy is less dangerous than in those of a false friend, therefore he by no means calls on his British ministers for an opinion, and . . .

"GEORGE R."[1]

The King to Viscount Castlereagh.

"QUEEN'S PALACE, January 31, 1806.

"The king is sensible of Mr. Cooke's ability and merits both in the employment he has held in the colonial department, as also in Ireland, and consents to the provision proposed.

"GEORGE R."

It was toward the close of the year 1805 that Miss Cornelia Knight, the accomplished authoress of some interesting autobiographical memoirs, and of other literary works, became attached to the person of Queen Charlotte, and an inmate of the palace.[2] "In December," writes Miss Knight, "I

[1] The whole of this letter shows that his Majesty's sight was very much impaired. The last two or three lines are almost illegible.

[2] Miss Knight, the daughter of Admiral Sir Joseph Knight, was born about the year 1757. She was the authoress of "Din-

became a resident at Windsor. The unmarried princesses, who were still at home, were very kind and gracious to me. The Dukes of Cumberland and Cambridge were often at the castle in the evening, but the Dukes of York and Clarence seldom, if ever, slept there. The queen had her ladies and those of the princesses to dine with her, and the king came in at the dessert, for he dined at an early hour. The aides-de-camp and other gentlemen on service dined at the upper lodge. It is difficult to form an idea of a more domestic family in any rank of life, or a house in which the visitors, for those on duty were considered as such, were treated with greater attention. The queen used often to call for me between ten and eleven on her way to Frogmore, where she liked to spend her mornings. She was fond of reading aloud, either in French or English, and I had my work.[1]

arbas," in the style of Johnson's "Rasselas," published in 1790; of "Marcus Flaminius," a classical novel published in 1792, and which reached a second edition in 1808; and "A Description of Latium, or La Campagna di Roma," with etchings by the author, which appeared in 1805. Miss Knight died at Paris, in December, 1837, in the eighty-first year of her age. Some time after she entered the service of Queen Charlotte, Miss Knight became sub-governess, or, as she preferred to style herself, "lady companion" to the Princess Charlotte of Wales.

[1] Miss Burney mentions an occasion of her entering the queen's apartment, at Windsor, when her Majesty was engaged in reading some religious work to the princesses. "I was glad," she writes, "of this opportunity of witnessing the maternal piety with which she enforced, in voice and expression, every sentence

Her library there was well furnished with books in those languages and in German, and she was so good as to give me a key, with permission to take home any that I liked. Sometimes we walked in the gardens of that pleasant place, Princess Elizabeth being usually of our party, and not unfrequently the Princess Mary. The Princesses Augusta and Sophia rode with the king. The Princess Elizabeth had a pretty cottage and garden at Old Windsor, where she would sometimes in summer give little fêtes. It was at Frogmore that the queen generally celebrated the birthdays of the Prince of Wales and the Duke of York, as they were both born in August; while Princess Elizabeth did the same for the Duke of Clarence's birthday, which was also in that month. And in November the queen gave a fête for those of the Princesses Augusta and Sophia."

It may be mentioned that Queen Charlotte's taste for literature led to her establishing a private printing-press at Frogmore, at which, however, only two complete works appear to have been printed. The first, which consists of a small octavo volume of one hundred and eleven pages, is entitled "Translations from the German, in Prose and Verse," the contents being entirely of a religious character, consisting of prayers, meditations,

that contained any lesson that might be useful to her royal daughters. She reads extremely well, with great force, clearness, and meaning."

and hymns. The volume is inscribed, "The Gift of the Queen to her beloved Daughters, Charlotte Augusta Matilda, Augusta Sophia, Elizabeth, Mary, and Sophia; and with her permission dedicated to their Royal Highnesses by Ellis Constantia Knight." The other volume, a foolscap quarto of ninety pages, is simply entitled "Miscellaneous Poems," and consists chiefly of a selection of fugitive pieces. They were both printed in 1812. When the queen, it is said, first intimated to her librarian her intention of setting up a printing-press, he informed her that it would be necessary to have it registered. "Well," she replied, "let it be so; but I believe there is no danger of our being sent to Reading Gaol for printing libels."

In the meantime Pitt had been exerting himself to strengthen his administration, which had been very inconveniently weakened by the defection of Lord Sidmouth and his friends. With the view of effecting that object, he was still as desirous as he had formerly been of admitting Fox to a share of power, and accordingly, on Tuesday, the 17th of September, he paid a visit to the king at Weymouth, in hopes of finding him less incensed against his old political antagonist. It was the opinion of the king, however, that the government, as at present constituted, might be carried on quite as well, and with much more respectability, than if he consented to a coalition which he alike regarded

as an unnatural one, and as fraught with danger to the state. When, therefore, Pitt quitted the royal presence, after an audience which lasted for three hours, and which he was afraid to prolong lest it might have an injurious effect upon the king's health, it was with the mortification of knowing that his errand had been an idle one.

A few days afterward, Sunday, the 22d, the king related to Rose what had taken place on the Tuesday. "I went on the Esplanade early in the morning," writes Rose, "and at a quarter past seven the king came there, accompanied by Colonel Taylor, who, on the king calling me to him, left us. His Majesty then told me that Mr. Pitt had made very strong representations to him of the necessity of strengthening his government by the accession of persons from the parties of Lord Grenville and Fox, but that he was persuaded there existed no necessity whatever for such a junction; that we did very well in the last session, and he was confident we should not be worse in the ensuing one." He was determined, he said, not to take a single person of the opposition into the administration. "I could not," he added, "trust them, and they could have no confidence in me." Under these circumstances no choice was left to Pitt but to encounter Parliament in his present weak and embarrassed condition.

Unhappily, the war policy pursued by Pitt during his second administration proved to be as bar-

ren of great results as it had been during his former tenure of the premiership. True it is that he had succeeded in opposing to the ambition of Napoleon, and to the formidable resources of France, a grand combination of the northern powers of Europe.[1] In the vault of, and over the ashes of the great Frederick, the Czar of Russia and the King of Prussia had sworn to accomplish the liberation of Germany. Already Russia, Austria, and Sweden had united with Great Britain in what promised to be an overwhelming coalition, while the further active accession of Prussia was expected immediately to follow. It was Pitt's ill fortune, however, to be matched against a master-spirit whose intellectual powers, and whose never failing resources were far more transcendent than his own. Thus the grand conception of the British minister, instead of arresting the headlong career of Napoleon, as Pitt had fondly contemplated, produced the directly contrary result of enabling him to crush his enemies, and to construct an empire more extensive than that of Charlemagne. No sooner, for instance, were the intentions of the allies discovered by the French emperor, than he at once perceived the vast importance of attacking the enemy before the armies of Russia and Austria could form a junction, and before Prussia could make her appearance on the scene of action. Accordingly,

[1] It would almost appear as if the king was the original projector of this famous scheme.

masking with admirable finesse his intended operations, he suddenly broke up the great army which he had collected on the shores opposite England, and advanced his veteran legions by forced and rapid marches to the borders of Germany. Then followed that memorable series of masterly operations which was crowned by the capitulation of General Mack at Ulm, and by the terrible and crushing defeat of the Russian and Austrian armies at Austerlitz. The continent of Europe may be said to have lain at Napoleon's feet.

The signal failure of Pitt's momentous projects, and the consequent triumph of the enemies of his country, sank deeply into his heart. As one piece of bad news continued to arrive after another, it became plainly visible to his friends how baneful was the effect which they produced upon a constitution not naturally strong, and upon a frame which, for some time past, had been subjected to periodical attacks of illness. Thus, so early as the 31st of March, 1805, we find his friend, Lord Harrowby, expressing his regret at hearing of his "coughing and looking ill," and pressing him to avail himself of a "bedroom, dressing-cabinet, and parlour, all on the ground floor," at the earl's hospitable seat, Sandon Hall. Again, on the 2d of July we find him unable to keep an appointment with Lord Sidmouth, in consequence of his having been confined to the house "by a violent cold and rheumatism;" and lastly, on the 28th of August,

Fox, in a rather remarkable passage, alludes to the altered appearance of his rival. "I hear," he writes to Lord Grey, "that, to those who casually see him, his appearance is just as it was in the House of Commons, — that of extreme uneasiness and almost misery." "All who passed him in the park," writes Lord Macaulay, "all who had interviews with him in Downing Street, saw misery written in his face."

Thus was the stricken minister suffering in mind and body when, at the beginning of November, the startling tidings of Mack's capitulation at Ulm reached London. At first the news arrived through no official channel, yet, as Lord Malmesbury informs us, it came "in so many shapes as to give it but too much the appearance of truth." The fact, however, of so terrible a misfortune having occurred, Pitt was almost incapable of realising. "I clearly perceived," writes Lord Malmesbury, who dined with him on Saturday, the 2d of November, "that he disbelieved it more from the dread of its being true than from any well-grounded cause. On my still expressing my fears, he almost peevishly said, 'Don't believe a word of it; it is all a fiction;' and in so loud a voice as to be heard by all who were near us. But on Sunday, 3d November, he and Lord Mulgrave came to me in Spring Gardens, about one o'clock, with a Dutch newspaper, in which the capitulation of Ulm was inserted at full length. As they neither of them

understood Dutch, and as all the offices were empty, they came to me to translate it, which I did as well as I could; and I observed but too clearly the effect it had on Pitt, though he did his utmost to conceal it. This was the last time I saw him. He promised me to come for a few days to Park Place, on his return from Bath, where he was then going, but was too ill to keep his word. This visit has left an indelible impression on my mind, as his manner and look were not his own, and gave me, in spite of myself, a foreboding of the loss with which we were threatened."

Happily, four days afterward, arrived the tidings of the glorious battle of Trafalgar, saddening, however, the mind of the minister by their conveying the additional intelligence of the death of the immortal Nelson. "One day in November," writes Lord Fitzharris, "I happened to dine with Pitt, and Trafalgar was naturally the engrossing subject of our conversation. I shall never forget the eloquent manner in which he described his conflicting feelings when roused in the night to read Collingwood's despatches. He observed that he had been called up at various hours in his eventful life by the arrival of news of various hues; but that, whether good or bad, he could always lay his head on his pillow and sink into sound sleep again. On this occasion, however, the great event announced, brought with it so much to weep over as well as to rejoice

Battle of Trafalgar

Photo-etching after painting in Vernon Gallery by C. Turner, R.A.

at, that he could not calm his thoughts, but at length got up, though it was three o'clock in the morning."

For some time past, the state of the minister's health had induced his physicians to recommend him to pay a visit to Bath, but, whether from disinclination or from the demands made upon him by public business, it was not till the 7th of December that he followed their advice. "The first effect of the waters," writes Lord Malmesbury, "was to procure a fit of the gout, but not a salutary one. It was attended with great pain, and produced excessive weakness and a total debility of digestion." In this condition he was, when Canning arrived from London to break to him the news of an event, even more calamitous than the surrender at Ulm, — that of the great victory won by Napoleon at Austerlitz. The first impulse of the lacerated minister, on the despatches being laid before him, was to call for a map of the seat of war and to desire to be left alone. From that time his countenance acquired even an intenser look of misery than before. Wilberforce used to call it his Austerlitz look. All his friends seem to have been agreed that Austerlitz dealt him his death-blow. "It struck Pitt so deeply," writes Lord Malmesbury, "and found him in such an enfeebled state, that he certainly never recovered it." "On receiving the account of the armistice after the battle of Austerlitz," writes

Rose, "the gout quitted the extremities, and he fell into a debility, which continually increased." "Pitt," writes Wilberforce, "was killed by the enemy as much as Nelson."

On the 9th of January, 1806, Pitt bade farewell, for the last time, to the fair city where either he, or his illustrious father before him, had, for more than half a century, been the "observed of all observers." His journey to Putney Heath, during which his physician, Sir Walter Farquhar, was his companion, occupied three days. At Reading, on Friday the 10th, he was well enough to admit of Sir Walter's quitting him for a time, for the purpose of paying a visit to Lord Malmesbury at Park Place, near Henley; the arrangement being that he was to rejoin his patient at Salt Hill. At this time, as Sir Walter told Lord Malmesbury, Mr. Pitt had become so emaciated as to render him scarcely recognisable, and was otherwise in so precarious a state that nothing but "complete and entire rest" could save his life. On Saturday, the 11th, he arrived at Putney Heath, where he was received by his niece, Lady Hester Stanhope, on whose mind the sight of his wasted frame and the sound of his hollow voice seem to have impressed the gloomiest convictions. As he traversed the passage which led to his bedchamber, he called her attention to a map of Europe which hung unfolded down the wall. "Roll up that map," are said to have been his mournful directions to her;

"it will not be wanted these ten years."[1] Yet Sturges Bourne, who visited him on the following day, Sunday, thought him less altered in appearance than he had expected, in addition to which Doctors Baillie and Reynolds, whose professional attendance was called in upon that day, not only considered the chances of recovery to be in his favour, but gave it as their opinion that, should his complaint take no unfavourable turn, he might be able to attend to business in about a month. Pitt himself, on this day, writes to Lord Wellesley: "I am recovering rather slowly from a series of stomach complaints, followed by severe attacks of gout; but I believe I am now in the way of real amendment."

On the following day, Sunday, the 12th, he was better, and the next day, Monday, was able to take an airing in his carriage, as well as to receive visits from Lords Castlereagh and Hawkesbury, whom he admitted separately, for a short time each, to his sick-chamber. The excitement, however, which these interviews produced, appears

[1] "O dread was the time, and more dreadful the omen,
When the brave on Marengo lay slaughtered in vain,
And, beholding broad Europe bowed down by her foemen,
Pitt closed in his anguish the map of her reign."
—*Sir Walter Scott.*

Sir Walter's lines would seem to be much more applicable to Austerlitz than to Marengo. If he had never heard the anecdote of Pitt directing the map to be drawn up, the coincidence is a curious one.

to have had an injurious effect upon his system. To his old tutor and secretary, the Bishop of Lincoln, he observed, after the two lords were gone — "I feel something here," putting his hand on his stomach, "that reminds me I never shall recover; not cold, but a general giving way."

Nevertheless, on the following day, the 14th, he was again able to take a drive in his carriage, and also to receive visits from his brother, Lord Chatham, and from Lord Wellesley, the latter of whom had recently arrived in England, on the termination of his brilliant government in India. Lord Wellesley, according to his own interesting account of their interview, was greeted by the invalid with his usual kindness and good humour. To Lord Wellesley, Mr. Pitt's understanding appeared to be as vigorous and clear as ever. He was not only cheerful, but his spirits seemed to be as high as his friend had ever known them. "Amongst other topics," writes Lord Wellesley, "he told me, with great kindness and feeling, that since he had seen me he had been happy to become acquainted with my brother Arthur,[1] of whom he spoke in the warmest terms of commendation. He said: 'I never met any military officer with whom it was so satisfactory to converse. He states every diffi-

[1] Mr. Pitt had met the late Duke of Wellington, then Sir Arthur Wellesley, in the previous month of November, at Lord Camden's seat, Wilderness Park, in Kent.

culty before he undertakes any service ; but none after he has undertaken it.'" Yet Lord Wellesley quitted Putney with a heavy heart. "Notwithstanding Mr. Pitt's kindness and cheerfulness," he writes, "I saw that the hand of death was fixed upon him. This melancholy truth was not known nor believed by either his friends or opponents." Pitt, it appears, had fainted away before Lord Wellesley left the room.

The next day, Wednesday the 15th, Pitt parted for the last time with another old friend, whose good qualities he had appreciated for nearly a quarter of a century, — George Rose. When the latter reached Putney Heath on that day, not only were the accounts which he received much more unfavourable than he had been led to expect, but Mr. Pitt was in a state which, in the opinion of Sir Walter Farquhar, rendered it unadvisable for him to see his political friends for the present. Accordingly it was not till the evening that Rose was admitted to the sick-chamber of the suffering premier. There, not in the beautiful suburban mansion, which he had once delighted to call his own,[1] but in a hired roadside villa, in an apart-

[1] Holwood, in Kent, which Mr. Pitt's pecuniary difficulties had compelled him to sell when he quitted office in 1801. "No person," writes Lord Wellesley, "had a more exquisite sense of the beauties of the country. He took the greatest delight in his residence at Holwood, which he enlarged and improved, it may be truly said, with his own hands. Often have I seen him working in his woods and gardens with his labourers for whole days

ment facing the palatial lodge where Addington was destined, for nearly forty years to come, to enjoy ease, opulence, and dignity, lay — half broken-hearted, deeply in debt, and dying without a title to his name, or a star glittering upon his dressing-table — the great statesman, who, during a period of nineteen years, had wielded a power more absolute than had been enjoyed by any British minister in modern times. "Poor Pitt," afterward wrote Wilberforce, "I almost believe, died of a broken heart; for it is only due to him to declare that the love of his country burned in him with as ardent a flame as ever warmed the human bosom, and the accounts from the armies struck a death's blow within. A broken heart? What! Was he like Otway, or Collins, or Chatterton, who had not so much as a needful complement of food to sustain their bodies, while the consciousness of unrewarded talents, of mortified pride, pressed on them within, and ate out their very souls? No! he was the highest in power and estimation in the whole kingdom; the favourite, I believe, on the whole, of king and people. Yes! this man, who died of a broken heart, was first lord of the treasury and chancellor of the exchequer."

Rose's account of his last interview with his illustrious friend is a painfully interesting one.

together, undergoing considerable fatigue, and with so much eagerness and assiduity, that you would suppose the cultivation of his villa to be the principal occupation of his life."

"Mr. Pitt," he writes, "insisted that I should not leave the house till evening; and about eight o'clock Sir Walter brought me a message to say he was confident the seeing me would do him good. I therefore no longer hesitated, but went up to his room, and found him lying on a sofa, emaciated to a degree I could not have conceived. He pressed my hand with all the force he could, — feebly enough, God knows! — and told me earnestly he found himself better for having me by the hand. I did not remain with him more than five minutes. The short conversation was quite general, as I felt it of importance not to touch on any topic that could agitate his mind in the smallest degree, and at ten in the evening I left the house. His countenance was changed extremely, his voice weak, and his body almost wasted, and so, indeed, were his limbs."

On the evening of the following day, Rose received a somewhat more cheering account from Putney Heath. "Mr. Pitt," writes the Bishop of Lincoln to him, "has continued in bed the whole day, quiet and composed upon the whole, and without any increase of unpleasant symptoms. He is going to be removed to his sofa for an hour. Sir Walter's report is rather more favourable." From this day "no considerable alteration" is said to have taken place till Sunday, the 19th, on the morning of which day the invalid was not only not worse, but, in the opinion of the physicians, and

of Doctor Baillie in particular, it was possible that in a couple of months he would be again able to transact business. In the course of the day, however, a critical change seems to have taken place. When, before night, the premier's nephew, the Hon. James Hamilton Stanhope, arrived at his uncle's villa, gloom and apprehension encountered him at its threshold. "I did not go," he writes, "to Putney till Sunday, the 19th, when I went in the carriage with Hester.[1] When we came within three hundred yards of the house, Mr. Rose stopped the carriage. We immediately conceived the most dreadful apprehensions when we perceived him in tears, and his manner exhibiting marks of the most poignant grief. He said, 'I fear there is danger;' and I believe these were his only words. On arriving at the house we found the melancholy intelligence but too true, and that apprehensions were entertained for his life, owing to a typhus fever which had succeeded his state of debility. On the Sunday he, however, took two eggs beaten up, and, on account of their remaining on his stomach, considerable hopes were entertained by Sir W. Farquhar." When Rose reached Putney Heath, soon after daybreak on the following morning, he was informed, to his great

[1] Lady Hester Stanhope, it may be remembered, was in the house when Mr. Pitt first arrived at Putney from Bath. Lord Malmesbury, however, incidentally mentions that Mr. Pitt "would not allow her always to be at Putney."

sorrow, that Pitt had either fainted on the previous evening, or had "fallen into something like a fit," and was in other respects worse.

It would seem to have been on Tuesday, the 21st, that the king, as well as the public, received the first intimation of the premier's life being in immediate danger. The bulletin which was despatched to the palace, on the evening of that day, announced that his "symptoms were unpromising and his situation hazardous." The expected dissolution of a statesman who had played so prominent a part on the theatre of the world as Pitt had done, could scarcely fail to create a painful as well as extraordinary sensation. "No one," writes Horner, this day, from the gallery of the House of Commons, "even with all his party antipathies, or with all his resentment for the mischiefs which have been brought upon the country, can be insensible to the death of so eminent a man. In the place where I am sitting now, I feel this more than seems quite reasonable to myself. I cannot forget how this space has been filled with his magnificent and glowing declamations, or reflect with composure that that fine instrument of sound is probably extinguished for ever."

On the morning of Wednesday, the 22d, — the day after the reassembling of Parliament, — a meeting of the leaders of the opposition took place at Fox's house, for the purpose of arranging the intended attacks in both Houses, on the foreign

policy of ministers. In the House of Lords, an amendment to the address to the throne was to have been moved by Earl Cowper, and in the House of Commons by the late Marquis of Lansdowne, then Lord Henry Petty. In Pitt's present state, however, any violent hostile party demonstration, at the opening of the parliamentary campaign, would clearly have been exceptionable; and accordingly Lord Grenville and Fox severally, in feeling language, deprecated any attack being made on the prostrated minister. Fox especially, while alluding to the alarming state of his distinguished rival, was sensibly affected. "*Sunt lacrymæ rerum*," he said, "*et mentem mortalia tangunt.*" Thus the first day's proceedings in Parliament passed off without interest and without debate.

Mr. Pitt in the course of this day grew sensibly worse. "From my seeing him," writes Rose, "on the evening of Wednesday, the 15th, — from which time no one had access to him except the bishop and the physicians, — he had lain on the sofa or in bed without hardly opening his mouth, except to answer questions put to him by the physicians; nor did he attempt to read a line. But such a mind as his must have been occupied with something. About what that was, no conjecture could be formed." "I was there about five, yesterday evening," writes Lord Buckinghamshire, on Thursday, the 23d, "when I saw the bishop and Sir

Walter. The scene was too distressing to admit of my remaining many minutes, but they then appeared to entertain no hope." That night the Bishop of Lincoln deemed it right to apprise Mr. Pitt of his danger, at the same time proposing that they should pray together, and that he should administer the sacrament to him. The dying statesman received the intelligence of his approaching fate with the greatest firmness. For a few moments he looked earnestly at the bishop, and then turning his head with perfect composure toward Sir Walter Farquhar, who was standing on the other side of the bed, he slowly inquired: "How long do you think I have to live?" Sir Walter answered that he was unable to say; that possibly he might yet recover. A half smile, as if of incredulity, passed over the countenance of the invalid. He had not strength enough, he said, to go through the sacrament, but acquiesced in the bishop's invitation to join him in prayer. "I fear," he said, "I have, like too many other men, neglected prayer too much to allow me to hope that it can be very efficacious now; but," rising as he spoke and clasping his hands with the utmost fervour and devotion, he added, emphatically, "I throw myself entirely upon the mercy of God, through the merits of Christ!" He then, with his hands still clasped together, joined with much earnestness with the bishop in prayer.

The closing scene of the illustrious statesman

is thus pathetically described by his nephew, Mr. Stanhope. "From Wednesday morning (January 22d) I did not leave his room, except for a few minutes, till the time of his death, though I did not allow him to see me, as I felt myself unequal to the dreadful scene of parting with him, and feared — although he was given over — that the exertion on his part might hasten the dreadful event which now appeared inevitable. Hester applied for leave to see him, which was refused. Taking, however, the opportunity of Sir Walter's being at dinner, she went into Mr. Pitt's room. Though even then wandering a little, he immediately recollected her, and, with his usual angelic mildness, wished her future happiness, and gave her a most solemn blessing and affectionate farewell. On her leaving the room, I entered it, and for some time afterward Mr. Pitt continued to speak of her, and several times repeated, 'Dear soul, I know she loves me! Where is Hester? Is Hester gone?'

"In the evening Sir Walter gave him some champagne, in hopes of keeping up for a time his wasting and subdued strength; and as Mr. Pitt seemed to feel pain in swallowing it, owing to the thrush in his throat, Sir Walter said, 'I am sorry, sir, to give you pain. Do not take it unkind.' Mr. Pitt, with that mildness which adorned his private life, replied, 'I never take anything unkind that is meant for my good.' At three

o'clock on Wednesday Colonel Taylor arrived express from his Majesty at Windsor, and returned with the melancholy [news] of all hopes having ceased. I remained the whole of Wednesday night with Mr. Pitt. His mind seemed fixed on the affairs of the country, and he expressed his thoughts aloud, though sometimes incoherently. He spoke a good deal concerning a private letter from Lord Harrowby, and frequently inquired the direction of the wind; then said, answering himself, 'East — ah! that will do; that will bring him quick;' at other times seemed to be in conversation with a messenger; and sometimes cried out, 'Hear, hear!' as if in the House of Commons. During the time he did not speak he moaned considerably, crying, 'O dear! O Lord!' Toward twelve the rattles came in his throat, and proclaimed approaching dissolution. Sir Walter, the bishop, Charles, and my sister, were lying down on their beds, overcome with fatigue. At one, a Mr. South arrived from town in a chaise, bringing a vial of hartshorn-oil, a spoonful of which he insisted on Mr. Pitt's taking, as he had known it recover people in the last agonies. Remonstrance as to its certain inefficacy was useless, and, on Sir Walter saying that it could be of no detriment, we poured a couple of spoonfuls down Mr. Pitt's throat. It produced no effect but a little convulsive cough. In about half an hour Mr. South returned to town. At about half-past

two Mr. Pitt ceased moaning, and did not speak, or make the slightest sound for some time, as his extremities were then growing chilly. I feared he was dying: but shortly afterward, with a much clearer voice than he spoke in before, and in a tone I shall never forget, he exclaimed, 'Oh, my country! How I love my country!' From that time he never spoke or moved, and at half-past four expired without a groan or struggle. His strength being quite exhausted, his life departed like a candle burning out."[1] The Bishop of Lincoln told Lord Sidmouth that Mr. Pitt had been delirious during the last thirty-six hours of his existence. "At the age of forty-six," said Sir Walter Farquhar to Lord Malmesbury, "he died of old age as much as if he had been ninety."

Mr. Pitt expired on the 23d of January, 1806,

[1] The dying words of Mr. Pitt, in which he is said to have apostrophised his country, excited some interest at the time, and have occasioned much discussion since. "It was asserted," writes Lord Macaulay, "in many after-dinner speeches, Grub Street elegies, and academic prize poems, that the great minister died exclaiming, 'O my country!' This is a fable; but it is true that the last words which he uttered, while he knew what he said, were broken exclamations about the alarming state of public affairs." Yet it would seem almost unquestionable that, very shortly before his dissolution, he uttered the words which Mr. Stanhope has put into his mouth, or at least words very nearly resembling them. "About half an hour before he breathed his last," writes Rose, "the servant heard him say, 'My country! Oh, my country!'" Three days after Mr. Pitt's death, Sir Walter Farquhar told Lady Malmesbury that the last words which Mr. Pitt had spoken were, "Oh, what times! Oh, my country!"

being the twenty-fifth anniversary, as his biographer Gifford points out, of the day on which he had first taken his seat in the House of Commons. Thus the same day may be said to have commenced and to have terminated his memorable public career. The House of Commons honoured his memory with a public funeral, and voted the sum of forty thousand pounds for the payment of his debts.

On the 20th and 21st of February the remains of the late minister lay in state in the Painted Chamber at Westminster, famous in English history from the day when Edward the Confessor died within its walls, to that on which the body of the great Chatham had rested there on its way to the neighbouring abbey. The pall over the coffin was supported by the Archbishop of Canterbury and by the Dukes of Beaufort, Portland, and Montrose. The Speaker of the House of Commons, the Lord Mayor of London, thirty-two peers, — including three princes of the blood, the Dukes of York, Cumberland, and Cambridge, — ten bishops, and about one hundred and fifty members of the House of Commons, walked in the procession. Among the mourners were six persons, all of whom either had been, or were afterward Prime Ministers of England, — Lord Sidmouth, Lord Grenville, Spencer Perceval, Lord Liverpool, Canning, and the Duke of Wellington, then Sir Arthur Wellesley. The latter walked in the procession as the younger son of an earl. The

chief mourner was the Earl of Chatham, supported by the Earl of Westmoreland and Earl Camden. The "Banner of Emblems" was carried by Perceval, supported by Mr. Canning and Mr. Rose. One of the supporters of the "Banner of the Crest of Pitt" — which was borne by his kinsman, Thomas Cholmondeley — was William Wilberforce. The open vault which awaited his remains lay near the north door, overlooked by the towering effigy of his illustrious father. "As though in mockery of greatness," said Wilberforce, "the statue seemed to be looking down with consternation into the grave which was opened for his favourite son, the last perpetuator of the name which he had ennobled." There was another mourner present, whose classical imagination, as his eye glanced upon the descending coffin, was well able to appreciate the deep interest of the scene. "We attended him," writes Lord Wellesley, "to Westminster Abbey. There the grave of his illustrious father was opened to receive him, and we saw his remains deposited on the coffin of his venerated parent. What grave contains such a father and such a son? What sepulchre embosoms the remains of so much excellence and glory?" Having formally proclaimed the titles of the deceased, the herald pronounced over the grave the apparently volunteer, but not unmerited, eulogium:

"Non sibi sed patriæ vixit —"

and with these words closed the memorable ceremony.

The news of Mr. Pitt's death was received by different persons with very different sensations. His admirers saw in the event the ruin of their country; while the opposition, on the other hand, began to entertain hopes of returning peace and prosperity. Personally, not only Fox but Lord Grenville — with whom Pitt at the time of his death appears not to have been on speaking terms — were greatly affected by the event; Lord Wellesley informing us that when he warned the latter of the approaching dissolution of his relative and rival, he broke into "an agony of tears." Mr. Wickham also writes to Speaker Abbot that he had left both Lord and Lady Grenville in as great distress as he "could well conceive two persons to have been on any occasion." Perhaps the person who received the news in the most characteristic manner was Pitt's old colleague and enemy, Lord Thurlow, to whom it was communicated while he was examining the Townley Marbles at the British Museum. "A d—d good hand at turning a period!" was the bitter and only remark which it elicited from him. Before the autumn had far advanced, Thurlow himself lay on his death-bed.

CHAPTER IX.

The King's Feelings on Receiving the News of Pitt's Death — Lord Grenville Succeeds in Forming an Administration — First Interview between the King and Fox on the Latter Becoming Secretary of State — Their Subsequent Satisfactory Intercourse — Retirement of Lord Eldon from Office — Anecdotes of Lord Thurlow — His Death — Last Illness and Death of Fox — The King Regrets His Loss.

So affected was the king by the death of the great minister who had served him so long and so faithfully, that it was not till after two days had elapsed that he could either bear to speak of the event, or consented to admit his ministers to his presence. The stormy state of the political horizon, both at home and abroad, necessarily increased the distress of the king. "The effect on the king's mind," writes Lord Henley, "and the embarrassments into which this event must plunge him, I greatly fear." Willingly the king would have retained his present ministers in power, — placing Lord Sidmouth at their head, — but, as he afterward admitted to Rose, he had "found from experience" that his former favourite servant was

unequal to the government of the country. Under these circumstances he applied to Lord Hawkesbury to form an administration. That amiable statesman, however, satisfied with availing himself of this opportunity of securing for himself the lucrative post of lord warden of the Cinque Ports, wisely declined an employment, the difficulties and harass of which even Pitt had shown himself unequal to confront.

Lord Hawkesbury's refusal of the premiership left the king no other option but to apply to one of the two parties in opposition. Accordingly, on Sunday, the 26th of January, the Earl of Dartmouth, by the king's commands, waited upon Lord Grenville, with the intimation that his Majesty required his attendance at Buckingham House on the following day, for the purpose of consulting with him on the construction of a new administration. Happily, the appointed meeting passed off in the most satisfactory manner possible. It was Lord Grenville's strong conviction, as he plainly told the king, that no administration could be either durable or serviceable to the country unless it comprehended the leading statesmen of all parties; a conviction, to the justice of which the king not only graciously assented, but, on Lord Grenville further intimating that he should feel it his duty to include and to advise with Mr. Fox on the proposed arrangements, his Majesty's reply was in the highest degree satisfactory. "I thought

so," he said, "and meant it so."[1] The king then expressed a wish that the necessary arrangements might be made by Wednesday, the 29th, on which day he would come to London for the purpose of completing them. Lord Grenville, however, having objected that they could scarcely be concluded by so early a date, "Then," said the king, "the sooner the better. I will come to town and stay till it is done. There are to be no exclusions."

Thus armed with the authority of the king, Lord Grenville proceeded to construct an administration on the most comprehensive basis that lay within his reach. It comprised a fourfold junction between the "old opposition," which recognised Fox as their chief; the "new opposition," headed by Lord Grenville; the small band distinguished as the "Prince of Wales's friends;" and the party who looked up to Lord Sidmouth as their leader. "The Prince of Wales," writes Lord Malmesbury, "went most heartily and unbecomingly with them, and lowered his dignity by soliciting office and places for his dependents, and by degrading himself into the size of a common party leader." The members of the new Cabinet consisted of Lord Grenville, as first lord of the treasury; Lord Sidmouth, as lord privy seal; Fox, as secretary of state for foreign affairs; Earl Spencer, as secretary

[1] "The king," writes Lord Sidmouth to Lord de Dunstanville, "authorised Lord Grenville to form an administration, and instantly waived his objection to Mr. Fox."

for the home department; Windham, as secretary for war and the colonies; Earl Grey, then Lord Howick, as first lord of the admiralty; Lord Moira, as master general of the ordnance; Lord Henry Petty, as chancellor of the exchequer; Earl Fitzwilliam, as president of the Council; Lord Erskine, as lord chancellor; and, in order to gratify Lord Sidmouth, of Lord Ellenborough as lord chief justice. The Prince of Wales was gratified by his friend Lord Moira not only being appointed to the ordnance and admitted into the Cabinet, but also being selected for the coveted military post of lieutenant of the Tower of London. Another friend of the prince, Sheridan, was nominated treasurer of the navy; the post of secretary of war was conferred on General Fitzpatrick; Sir Samuel Romilly was appointed solicitor-general.

Of the nature of the king's feelings, on having his old enemy, Fox, again forced upon him as his minister, we have fortunately an account from no less valuable and interesting an authority than that of his Majesty's second daughter, the Princess Augusta.[1] "At the period of Mr. Fox's return to power," writes the princess, introducing herself in the third person, "the king — then in full possession of his faculties — showed for several days considerable uneasiness of mind. A cloud seemed to overhang his spirits. On his return one day from

[1] From a memorandum given by H. R. H. the late Princess Augusta to a friend.

London, the cloud was evidently removed, and his Majesty, on entering the room where the queen and Princess Augusta were, said he had news to tell them. 'I have taken Mr. Fox for my minister, and, on the whole, am satisfied with the arrangement.'" "When Mr. Fox," added the princess, on the king's authority, "came into the closet for the first time, his Majesty purposely made a short pause, and then said, 'Mr. Fox, I little thought you and I should ever meet again in this place. But I have no desire to look back upon old grievances, and you may rest assured I never shall remind you of them.' Mr. Fox replied, 'My deeds, and not my words, shall commend me to your Majesty.'"

Neither was Fox behindhand with the king in endeavouring to forgive and forget the past. "Mr. Fox," said Lord Sidmouth, "was always peculiarly respectful and conciliatory in his manner toward the king, and most anxious to avoid every question which did not harmonise with his Majesty's conscientious feelings." Though Fox, as the king told Lord Eldon, had certainly been forced upon him against his will, yet so far was his new minister from treating him as if he was in his power, that he invariably behaved toward him with the respect which was his due. "Mr. Fox's manner," the king used to say, "contrasted remarkably with that of another of his Whig ministers, who, when he came into office, walked up to

him in the way he should have expected from Bonaparte after the battle of Austerlitz."

Further causes of this improved state of feeling of the king toward Fox may be traced to the diligence, punctuality, and attention with which the new secretary for foreign affairs conducted the duties of his office. According to Fox's private secretary, John Bernard Trotter, "his Majesty, who was always extremely regular and punctual in the discharge of his own high duties, said that the office had never been conducted in such a manner before, and expressed much satisfaction at Mr. Fox's mode of doing the business. This testimony was the more striking and valuable as his Majesty never caused delay himself in that department. The despatches transmitted to, and laid before him, were uniformly returned with a punctuality deserving every praise, worthy of imitation, and highly becoming the first magistrate of the state." Again Trotter writes: "From the time of Mr. Fox's entering the Cabinet, in 1806, till his illness, his Majesty had never occasion to testify disapprobation. With his mode of conducting a negotiation he was much pleased. His despatches obtained even his Majesty's admiration, as of official writing there was no better judge." Unfortunately, only for a few months longer was the state destined to profit by the genius and industry of the illustrious statesman.

Of the late ministers, the one with whom the

king parted with the greatest regret was unquestionably Lord Eldon. When, on Friday, the 7th of February, the ex-chancellor attended at Buckingham House to deliver up the Great Seal, "the king," he says, "appeared for a few minutes to occupy himself with other things. Looking up suddenly, he exclaimed, 'Lay them down on the sofa, for I cannot and I will not take them from you.' 'Yet,' he afterward added, 'I admit you can't stay when all the rest have run away.'" When, in the month of March, the following year, Lord Eldon was reinstated in the chancellorship, the king restored the Great Seal to him in the same kind and gracious manner. "I could not," he repeated, "expect you to stay when the others ran away."

The contingency which the king had had the most reason to dread, as the consequence of the return of the Whigs to power, was the revival of the embarrassing question of Roman Catholic emancipation, which Fox and Lord Grenville had over and over again pledged themselves to bring forward. Pitt, indeed, in deference to the king's almost morbid, though conscientious scruples, had formerly pledged himself to distress his sovereign no more on the subject; but his conduct on that occasion had been too loudly deprecated by Fox to render it very likely that the latter would be ever induced to exercise a similar forbearance. "I own," had been Fox's language to Lord Grey, on

the 19th of October, 1803, "I have a little desire to rescue ourselves from the infamy of acquiescing in the baseness of conceding the most important of all national points to the private opinion of the king." Since then, however, the times had changed, and Fox, not without excuse, undoubtedly had changed with the times. When, shortly after his return to office, the Austrian ambassador, Count Stahremberg, put the question to him, "Have you no difficulty respecting the Roman Catholic question?" "None at all," was the reply; "I am determined not to annoy my sovereign by bringing it forward."

On the 12th of September, 1806, died at Brighton, either in his seventy-fifth or seventy-sixth year, the once domineering and dreaded lord chancellor, Edward, Lord Thurlow. Since the year 1792, when the king had been compelled to deprive him of the Great Seal, his feelings toward his sovereign appear to have been bitterness itself, while, on the other hand, the king's language, whenever he had occasion to speak of his former servant, seems to have been invariably that of consideration and kindness. Thurlow, observed the king to Rose, in the autumn of 1804, was a man of considerable feeling; "he had seen tears in his eyes."[1] In like words of kindness he

[1] When Lady Craven, afterward Margravine of Anspach, consulted Thurlow on the subject of her painful domestic troubles, she was struck by seeing him similarly affected. "I

spoke of him, about this time, to his illegitimate daughter, Mrs. Cunningham. "He retained," he told her, "a grateful recollection of her father's attachment to him." Singularly enough, the king would seem to have remained in ignorance, even up to this late period, of Thurlow's perfidy to him during his terrible mental disorder in 1789. "He should never," he told Mrs. Cunningham, "have out of his mind her father's solemn declaration, that if ever he should forget his king, he trusted God in such a case would forget him."

During the latter part of Lord Thurlow's life he appears to have principally resided either at his villa near Dulwich, of which no vestige now remains, or else at Brighton. His closing years were cheered by a redeeming taste for the classical literature of Rome and Greece; by the delight which, in common with Bishop Warburton[1] and Charles

shall never," she writes, "forget Lord Thurlow's manner; nor how I saw tears starting from those eyes which were supposed never to have wept." On another occasion we find him moved to tears while reading aloud Portia's beautiful apostrophe to mercy, in Shakespeare's play of the "Merchant of Venice."

"Mirandum est unde ille oculis suffecerit humor."

[1] "The bishop," said Mrs. Warburton to Cradock, "would, when we spent our winters in London, often after his long and severe studies, send out for a whole basketful of books from the circulating libraries; and at times I have gone into his study and found him laughing, though alone; and now and then he would double down some entertaining passages for my after amusement." "Bishop Warburton," writes Bishop Newton, "was such

Fox, he took in works of fiction, and by an ardent love for music, of which he perfectly understood the theory. He had even made himself master of the principles of thorough-bass, in order that he might be able to superintend the musical studies of a favourite daughter.

To the last, Thurlow enjoyed society; usually inviting, when at Brighton, ten or twelve persons to dine with him. His conversational powers — which derived their varied excellence from a ready wit, a thorough knowledge of men and books, a strong sense of the ridiculous, an extraordinary memory, and from a long intercourse with the wise, the learned, and the witty — were unquestionably of a high order. His voice, we are told, while it was "by no means devoid of melody, was a kind of rolling, murmuring thunder." Doctor Johnson paid him the high compliment of proclaiming that there was no man in England for whose society he would "prepare" himself but Thurlow. "When I am to meet him," he said, "I should like to know a day before." [1] Cradock, who was personally acquainted with both of them, appears, of the two, to have preferred the society of Thurlow. "I was always," he writes, "more afraid of Johnson than

an universal reader, that he took delight even in romances; and there is scarce one of any note, ancient or modern, which he had not read. He said himself that he had learned Spanish to have the pleasure of reading 'Don Quixote' in the original."

[1] "I honour Thurlow, sir," said Johnson, on another occasion; "Thurlow is a fine fellow, he fairly puts his mind to yours."

of Thurlow, for though the latter sometimes was very rough and coarse, yet the decisive stroke of the former left a mortal wound behind it." In conversational combats of wit and argument, neither Horne Tooke nor Curran appears to have had any chance against Thurlow. Sir Philip Francis, indeed, who detested him, is said to have boasted that one day or other he would make "an example of the old ruffian;" but though they frequently afterward met in society, no evidence exists of Francis having ever obtained the victory which he promised himself.[1] Hare alone — the idol of society, the celebrated "Hare with many friends" — is said to have been able to turn the laugh against the dreaded ex-chancellor; and this not merely on a single occasion, but repeatedly, both at Carlton House and Woburn Abbey.

To the last, Lord Thurlow retained that imposing solemnity of manner and appearance which, in former days, had alike overawed the courts of law and the House of Peers. One who met him at

[1] Thurlow, it seems, had given great offence to Sir Philip Francis by a sarcastic remark which he had growled out in the House of Lords in 1773, on the occasion of Francis, General Clavering, and Monson having been sent to India to control Warren Hastings in his splendid administration of the affairs of the East. "It was the greatest misfortune," said Thurlow, "both to India and to England, that the ship which carried those three gentlemen had not in her passage gone to the bottom of the sea."

dinner at Brighton, within a fortnight before he died, describes himself as having been more struck with Thurlow's appearance than with that of any other person with whom he had ever associated. "Upon entering the drawing-room," he writes, "where he was seated on a sofa, we were all involuntarily moved to silence, and there was a stillness which the fall of a pin would have disturbed. He did not move when we came into the room, but slightly inclined his head, which had before hung down on his breast. He was dressed in an old-fashioned gray suit, buttoned very loosely about him, and hanging down very low. He had on a brown wig, with three rows of curls hanging partly over his shoulders. He was very grave, and spoke little. His voice is rough, and his manner of speaking slow. Lord Thurlow is, I believe, only seventy-five; but from his appearance I should have thought him a hundred years old. His large, black, heavy eyes, which he fixes at intervals upon you, are overshadowed with perfectly white eyebrows, and his complexion is pallid and cadaverous." The same writer, a day or two afterward, dined at Thurlow's own table. "We went to-day," he writes, "to dine at Lord Thurlow's, and upon being summoned from the drawing-room to dinner, we found him already seated at the head of his table, in the same costume as the day before, and looking equally grave and ill. Lord Bute being mentioned, and some one observing his life was going to be writ-

ten, Lord Thurlow sharply observed, 'The life of a fly would be as interesting.'"

Thurlow, when no longer the favourite minister of his sovereign, had successfully courted the favour of the heir apparent, who, for some years, consulted him in all his domestic disputes, — whether with his father or with his wife, — and by whom he was ever treated with singular deference and respect. During the earlier period of their intimacy Thurlow had been a frequent and favourite guest both at Carlton House and at the pavilion at Brighton; but, as he advanced in years, the society of the fops and of the men of the turf, whom he was in the habit of meeting there, became more and more distasteful to him, and accordingly, latterly it was but rarely that he could be induced to accept the prince's invitations. "If" — was once his gruff reply to the heir to the throne — "I must name a day for dining with your Royal Highness, it shall be when your Royal Highness keeps better company." Once, when he was prevailed upon to break through his rule, it happened that one of the persons invited to the prince's table was a notorious sporting character of the day, Sir John Lade, whose company his Royal Highness so well knew would be offensive to the eccentric lawyer, that he anticipated his displeasure by meeting him in an anteroom at the pavilion, and apologising for the baronet's presence. Sir John Lade, said the prince, was an old friend of his, who had come to Brighton

to attend the races, and he could not avoid asking him to dinner. The ex-chancellor, however, was apparently determined not to be pacified. "I have no objection, sir," he said, "to Sir John Lade in his proper place, which I take to be your Royal Highness's coach-box, and not your dinner-table."

The disorder of which Lord Thurlow died lasted only two days. "I have not," writes Lord Campbell, "learned any particulars of his end, but I will hope that it was a good one." That his nature was not all ruggedness and selfishness, as may perhaps be supposed, may be presumed from the fact that the Prince of Wales, in speaking of his loss, was so affected as to shed tears. Thurlow's remains rest in the vault under the south aisle of the Temple Church, into which they were lowered with extraordinary pomp and solemnity.

On the day following that on which Lord Thurlow breathed his last, expired, in his fifty-eighth year, a man of a far higher genius and of a far more genial temperament, Charles James Fox. For a long time past, the seeds of a fatal disorder would seem to have been lurking in his once vigorous constitution. For instance, on Wednesday, the 2d of April, Lord Colchester mentions in his diary that he was taken ill in the House of Commons on the preceding Monday; and again, when the late Mr. Rogers paid him a visit in Stable Yard, he observed the suspicious circumstance of the works of Hippocrates lying open

before him. Yet it was not till some weeks afterward that those to whom he was most near and dear seem to have entertained any suspicion of the painful truth. "About the end of May," writes his private secretary, Trotter, "Mrs. Fox mentioned slightly to me that Mr. Fox was unwell; but at this time there was no alarm or apprehension. In the beginning of June, I received a message from her, requesting me to come to him, as he had expressed a wish for me to read to him, if I was disengaged. It was in the evening, and I found him reclining upon a couch, uneasy and languid. It seemed to me so sudden an attack that I was surprised and shocked. He requested me to read some of the Æneid to him, and desired me to turn to the fourth book. This was his favourite part." His nephew, Lord Holland, also writes: "Early in June, I dined and spent the day with him, at the request of Mrs. Fox. He had been attacked by rheumatism in the thighs, and by a very unusual dejection of spirits." Nevertheless, on the 19th he was not only well enough to drink tea with the Speaker in his private room in the House of Commons, but appears to have conversed with his usual spirit and animation. "In the course of the afternoon's conversation," writes Lord Colchester, "we fell upon a variety of topics; the ignorance of the dark ages, which he denied to be so very dark as we are apt to represent them. He instanced their buildings, and the

spirited and learned style of Pope Hildebrand. He agreed in the admiration of Livy's speeches, and instanced that of Philip of Macedon, etc.; but, for the greater part of Livy, he looked upon it as little better than a beautiful romance, with the history of the Horatii and Curiatii, etc." "This," adds Lord Colchester, "was the last, or very nearly the last time, of Mr. Fox attending the House of Commons."

From this period, Fox's disorder, which proved to be dropsy, appears to have grown steadily worse. "Mr. Fox's physicians," writes Lord Colchester on the 29th of June, "last night had a consultation, and the result was that they acquainted him with the absolute necessity of his immediately giving up business, and retiring into the country; that no medicine could have its effect until he did so. To which he answered that the business now in his hands was so pressing as to render that impossible; and that he would go on at all risks." It was under these circumstances that his friends — through the medium of Lord Howick — suggested to him the prudence of removing into the House of Lords, a promotion which would relieve him from the laborious duties entailed by a constant attendance in the House of Commons. "Mrs. Fox," writes Lord Holland, "was in the room when this suggestion was made. At the mention of the peerage, he looked at her significantly, with a reference to his

secret but early determination never to be created a peer, and after a short pause, he said, 'No, not yet; I think not yet.'" The same evening, as Lord Holland was sitting by his bedside, discussing with him the most feasible means of relieving him of a share of his present toil and anxieties, without requiring him to resign his seat in the Cabinet, the invalid adverted to the proposal to elevate him to the House of Lords. "The peerage, to be sure," he said, "seems the natural way, but that cannot be. I have an oath in heaven against it. I will not close my politics in that foolish way, as so many have done before me."

During his illness Fox was subjected at times to great bodily torture, which he endured with singular equanimity. Occasionally, indeed, he is described as suffering from depression of spirits, as if anticipating a fatal termination to his disorder. For instance, in one of its early stages, we find him observing to a friend: "Pitt has died in January: perhaps I may go off before June;" adding, "I begin to think my complaint not unlike Pitt's. My stomach has been long discomposed. I feel my constitution dissolving." Again, when, in the beginning of July, some one happened to remark that it would be two or three months before Mrs. Fox's black swans were likely to be in good plumage, "Then," was his mournful observation, "I shall never see them so." Nevertheless, the natural sweetness and serenity of his disposition

supported him through every trial. "His temper," writes his faithful secretary, who tended him during his long illness, "never changed, and was always serene and sweet. It was amazing to behold so much distressing anguish and so great equanimity." And again, at a later period, Trotter writes: "During the whole time of my attendance at night on Mr. Fox, not one impatient word escaped him."

Mr. Fox's London residence at this time was Godolphin House, Stable Yard, St. James's,[1] the site of which is now covered by the stately mansion of the Duke of Sutherland. "The garden of the house at Stable Yard," writes Trotter, "was daily filled with anxious inquirers. The foreign ambassadors, or ministers, or private friends of Mr. Fox, walked there, eager to know his state of health, and catch at the hope of amendment. As he grew worse, he ceased to go out in his carriage, and was drawn in a garden-chair at times around the walks. I have myself drawn him whilst the Austrian ambassador, Prince Stahremberg, conversed with him. His manner was as easy, and his mind as penetrating and vigorous, as ever; and he transacted business in this way, though heavily oppressed by his disorder, with perfect facility." Among the numerous friends and admirers who are mentioned as crowding to Stable

[1] The Annual Register for 1806 alludes to Godolphin House as being, at the time of Fox taking up his residence there, "the elegant mansion of the Duke of Bedford, at St. James's."

Yard to manifest their sympathy with the suffering statesman, we find the Prince of Wales, who saw and sat with him almost every day; the Dukes of York and Clarence; Grattan, Sheridan, and Lord Sidmouth. "At one singular interview," writes his private secretary, "I was present. Mr. Sheridan wished to see Mr. Fox, to which the latter reluctantly consented, requesting Lord Grey to remain in the room. The meeting was short and unsatisfactory. Mr. Fox, with more coldness than I ever saw him assume to any one, spoke but a few words." "Fox's situation," writes Lord Sidmouth, on the 26th of July, "is, I fear, quite hopeless. His strength diminishes, and his bulk rather increases. The danger is not, however, supposed to be immediate." Two days afterward, Lord Sidmouth, by Mr. Fox's own invitation, was admitted to a personal interview with him in his sick-chamber, and was thus enabled, from personal observation, to form his own opinion of the chances of recovery of one in whose physical condition not only England, but Europe, had reason to take the deepest interest. "He was in bed," writes Lord Sidmouth, "and I sat alone with him about ten minutes. He received me with great complacency and cordiality, — I could almost say affection, — but perhaps I judged a little from my own sensations.

> "'Hei mihi, qualis erat! quantùm mutatus ab illo Hectore!'

And yet my present impressions respecting him are not so utterly hopeless as they were before I saw him. His colour is very bad; but his voice was clear, and he seemed less oppressed than he was four weeks ago. He shook me by the hand at parting, and said he hoped I would come again."

On the 7th of August Mr. Fox underwent, with great calmness and courage, the distressing operation of being tapped for his complaint. "The situation and feelings of Mrs. Fox," writes Lord Holland, "seemed to be the chief and indeed the only occupation of his mind on that occasion, and on every other where he spoke of the probability of his disease terminating fatally. He could speak of nothing regarding her without strong and sensible emotion. He contrived, however, to explain his wishes and expectations about a provision for her after his death. They were as nearly fulfilled as the state of the pension laws would admit. He had hardly finished what he had to say on that painful subject, when he abruptly said, 'Now change the conversation, or read me the eighth book of Virgil.' I did so. He made me read the finest verses twice over; spoke of their merits, and compared them with passages in other poets, with all his usual acuteness, taste, memory, and vivacity."

On the 29th of August, although still in a very precarious state, Mr. Fox was well enough to be

removed to the beautiful villa of his friend, the Duke of Devonshire, at Chiswick. His heart, as his private secretary informs us, languished for his own fair home at St. Anne's Hill, in which all his hopes of future rest and happiness were centred, but his strength was unequal to the performance of the journey. Still, even the change to Chiswick afforded him infinite satisfaction. "The weather," writes Lord Holland, was "fine, and the garden, through which he was wheeled, and the pictures, and large apartments of that magnificent villa, seemed to refresh his spirits. A remark of Bacon, quoted in the *Spectator*, that poetry, sculpture, painting, and all the arts of imitation, relieve and soothe the mind in sickness, while other occupations fatigue and harass it, struck him exceedingly." His private secretary also, who joined him at Chiswick, was pleased with the improvement which he imagined he perceived in his appearance. "The change of air and scene," he writes, "had already benefited him. I found him walking about and looking at the pictures. He wore a morning gown. His air was peculiarly noble and august. It was the Roman consul or senator, retired from the tumult of a busy city, and enjoying the charms of rural retirement, surrounded by the choicest productions of art. All care seemed removed from his mind." "As I drew him around Chiswick garden, alternately with a servant," continues his biographer, "his conver-

sation was pleasant and always instructive; chiefly directed to objects of natural history, botany, etc. A shade of melancholy sometimes stole across his countenance when objects reminded him of the late Duchess of Devonshire. At times, Mrs. Fox or Miss Fox walked beside the chair. His character was, as at St. Anne's Hill, ever amiable and domestic."

Well, indeed, may Fox have been affected by whatever objects reminded him of the attached and fascinating female friend whom he had only recently lost, and frequently must those mournful recognitions have been forced upon him. The small bedchamber which he occupied — the same, it is said, in which George Canning afterward breathed his last — opened into that bright Italian saloon, rich with pictures and other gems of art, of which few who have visited the spot can fail to retain a vivid recollection. In that noble apartment, each time that the door of his own room opened, some object or other could scarcely have failed to recall to his memory the high-bred and beautiful woman, for whose loss, only five months previously, the death-bell of Chiswick Church had tolled, and whom he was so soon to follow to the grave. Everything in Chiswick House, in fact, was eloquent of the graceful tastes and accomplishments of its late mistress. "I continued," writes Trotter, "to read aloud every night [to Mr. Fox]; and as he occasionally dropped asleep, I was then

left to the awful meditations incident to such a situation. No person was awake beside myself. The lofty rooms and hall of Chiswick House were silent, and the world reposed. In one of these melancholy pauses I walked about for a few minutes, and found myself involuntarily and accidentally in the late Duchess of Devonshire's dressing-room. Everything was as that amiable and accomplished lady had left it; the music-book still open; the books not restored to their places; a chair as if she had but just left it; and every mark of a recent inhabitant in this elegant apartment. The duchess had died in May,[1] and Mr. Fox had very severely felt her loss. Half-opened notes lay scattered about. The night was solemn and still, and at that moment, had some floating sound of music vibrated through the air, I cannot tell to what my feelings would have been wrought. Never had I experienced so strong a sensation of the transitory nature of life, of the vanity of a fleeting world."[2]

[1] The duchess had died on the 30th of March, at Devonshire House, Piccadilly.

[2] It has been of advantage to the author of these volumes that he has visited many of the scenes of interest referred to in his pages. It has been his fortune to have traversed, not only the classical apartments at Chiswick which were the scenes of Mr. Fox's last illness and death, but to have been conducted by his venerable widow over the garden and grounds of St. Anne's Hill, and there to have had pointed out by her to him the spots in which her beloved husband chiefly delighted; to have been a guest at the first Lord Melville's villa at Wimbledon, rich with

On the 1st of September Mr. Fox underwent, a second time, the operation of tapping, the results of which were, for a few days, of so favourable a character as greatly to raise the hopes of his physicians. Those hopes, however, proved to be illusory; and consequently nothing remained to the many friends who surrounded him, but to do all in their power to alleviate his sufferings during the brief remaining time that he was destined to remain among them. Happily, his taste for literature afforded him gratification almost to the latest stage of his illness. For a long time past he had neither read the newspapers, nor had he expressed a desire to have them read to him. Books alone afforded him pleasure, and these were by turns read aloud to him by Lord Holland, Miss Fox, and Trotter. He was fond, too, as has been already mentioned, of works of fiction, which, previously to his quitting Stable Yard, had been the productions which he had principally selected for perusal.

many associations, political as well as social, and in which, at the time when the author remembers it, Mr. Pitt's bedroom was still pointed out, and the words "Mr. Pitt's bell" were still attached to one of the bells in the servants' offices. It has chanced to be the author's fortune, also, to have been an occasional guest at Mr. Pitt's own villa on Putney Heath, which witnessed his memorable death scene, and, lastly, as an Eton boy to have been present at the funeral of George the Third, in St. George's Chapel, at Windsor, and there to have looked down upon the coffin of the revered monarch, whose long and eventful history the author, at that early period, little imagined that it was his destiny to write.

Latterly, however, the Æneid, Dryden's noble poem, "Palamon and Arcite," Johnson's "Lives of the Poets," Swift's poetry, and Crabbe's then unpublished poem, the "Parish Register," constituted his favourite reading. "I read," writes Lord Holland, "the whole of Crabbe's 'Parish Register' over to him in MS. Some parts he made me read twice. He remarked several passages as exquisitely beautiful, and objected to some few, which I mentioned to the author, and which he, in almost every instance, altered before publication." [1] His admiration of the works of nature also continued to soothe him almost to the last. "Often," writes Trotter, "did he latterly walk to his window to gaze on the berries of the mountain-ash, which hung clustering on a young tree at Chiswick House. Every morning he returned to look at it. He would praise it as the morning breeze rustling shook the berries and leaves."

[1] "Whatever he approved," writes Crabbe himself, "the reader will readily believe I carefully retained. The parts he disliked are totally expunged, and others are substituted, which I hope resemble those more conformable to the taste of so admirable a judge. Nor can I deny myself the melancholy satisfaction of adding that this poem, and more especially the story of Phœbe Dawson, with some parts of the second book, were the last compositions of their kind that engaged and amused the capacious, the candid, the benevolent mind, of this great man."

> "Two summers since, I saw at Lammas Fair
> The sweetest flower that ever blossomed there,
> When Phœbe Dawson gaily crossed the green."
>
> — *Crabbe's Works.*

"His last look on that mountain-ash," adds Trotter, "was his farewell to Nature."

The closing scenes of Mr. Fox's life, it were best perhaps to leave to his nephew, Lord Holland, to describe. "In the morning of the 7th of September," writes his lordship, "he grew much worse, and Mrs. Fox sent for me over to Chiswick, which I did not quit till after the termination of his illness. One day he sent for me, and reminded me of my promise not to conceal the truth. I told him that we had been much alarmed, but that he was better. I added, however, that he was in a very precarious state, and that I must acknowledge his danger, though I perhaps overstated it from a fear of allowing myself to deceive him after the promise I had given. He then repeated the injunctions he had given before, and said once or twice, 'You have done quite right; you will not forget poor Liz.[1] What will become of her?' As he had now been twice apprised of his danger, and seemed to me to have said all that he wished, I henceforth endeavoured to encourage his hopes as much as I could, and infinitely beyond my own judgment of his situation. He was, however, somewhat stronger and easier that night. He conversed more than he had for some time. Seeing his servant in the room, he spoke to me in French, and his thoughts still dwelt exclusively on Mrs. Fox. 'Je crains pour elle,' said he; 'a-t-elle la

[1] Mrs. Fox.

moindre idée de mon danger? Si non, quelle souffrance pour elle!' I answered him — what was indeed the truth — that she was sufficiently aware of his danger to prevent the worse termination of his illness being a surprise; but that she had not been so desponding that morning as my sister, General Fitzpatrick, and others; and I ventured to add, 'Et à cette heure vous voyez qu'elle avait raison; for, in spite of what I then said to you, Dabit Deus his quoque finem.' 'Ay,' said he, with a faint smile; 'but *finem*, young one, may have two senses.'[1]

"Such was our last conversation," continues Lord Holland. "He spoke, indeed, frequently in the course of the next thirty-six hours, and he evidently retained his faculties unimpaired; but he was too restless at one time, and too lethargic at others, to keep up any conversation after that evening, which, I think, was the 11th of September. About this period of his illness, Mrs. Fox — who had a strong sense of religion — consulted some of us on the means of persuading Mr. Fox to hear prayers read by his bedside. I own that I had some apprehensions lest any clergyman,

[1] "Mr. Fox was still alive this afternoon," writes a well-informed contemporary, on the 13th, "and when sensible, for several times they thought him gone, has his entire recollection. A servant being in the room when Lord Holland went there yesterday, Fox addressed his lordship in French. He very lately repeated some lines from Virgil. His evenness of mind must tend much to keep life in him."

called in, might think it a good opportunity of displaying his religious zeal, and acquiring celebrity, by some exhibition to which Mr. Fox's principles and taste would have been equally averse. When, however, Mr. Bouverie, a young man of excellent character, without pretension or hypocrisy, was in the house, I seconded her request, in the full persuasion that by so doing I promoted what would have been the wishes of Mr. Fox himself. His chief object throughout was to soothe and satisfy her. Yet repugnance was felt, and to some degree urged, even to this, by Mr. Trotter, who soon afterward thought fit to describe with great fervour the devotion it inspired, and to build upon it many conjectures of his own on the religious tenets and principles of Mr. Fox. Mr. Bouverie stood behind the curtain of the bed, and in a faint but audible voice read the service. Mr. Fox remained unusually quiet. Toward the end, Mrs. Fox knelt on the bed and joined his hands, which he seemed faintly to close, with a smile of ineffable goodness, such as can never be forgotten by those who witnessed it. Whatever it betokened, it was a smile of serenity and goodness, such as could have proceeded, at that moment, only from a disinterested and benevolent heart; from a being loving and beloved by all that surrounded, and by all that approached him. From that period, and not till that period, Mrs. Fox bore her situation and apprehensions with some forti-

tude; and I have no doubt that her confidence in religion alone enabled her to bear the scene which she was doomed so soon to undergo.

"During the whole of the 13th of September no hopes could be entertained. For the last two hours of his existence his articulation was so painful and indistinct that we could only occasionally catch his words, and then very few at a time. The small room in which he lay has two doors; one into the large saloon, the other into a room, equally small, adjoining. In the latter, Mrs. Fox, during the last ten days, constantly sat or lay down without undressing. Her bed was within hearing, and, indeed, within a very few feet of that of Mr. Fox. The doors were always open, for the weather was extremely hot. Of those who had access to him during the last melancholy days, it was at any one moment a mere accident who were actually in the bedchamber with him, who were pacing the adjoining rooms, or giving vent to their grief in the distant corners of the apartments. Each was actually by his bedside during some part of the day, and all, of at least seven or eight persons, were constantly within call of the room in which he lay, or in attendance upon him.

"The last words which he uttered with any distinctness," concludes Lord Holland, "were, 'I die happy,' and 'Liz,' the affectionate abbreviation in which he usually addressed his wife. He

attempted, indeed, to articulate something more, but we none of us could accurately distinguish the sounds. In a very few minutes after this fruitless endeavour to speak, in the evening of the 13th of September, 1806, he expired without a groan, and with a serene and placid countenance, which seemed, even after death, to represent the benevolent spirit which had animated it." "Poor Fox," writes Lord Sidmouth, on the following day, "closed his career yesterday evening, and I trust is in peace. He suffered little, but was occasionally dejected. In general, however, he preserved his complacency, and smiled when any friend approached him, even when he could not converse." "The giant race is extinct," writes Horner to Jeffrey; "and we are left in the hands of little ones, whom we know to be diminutive, having measured them against the others."

On the 10th of October Fox's remains were interred, with considerable state and solemnity, in Westminster Abbey, within eighteen inches of the grave of his illustrious rival, William Pitt.

"Genius, and taste, and talent gone,
For ever tombed beneath the stone,
Where — taming thought to human pride —
The mighty chiefs sleep side by side.
Drop upon Fox's grave the tear,
'Twill trickle to his rival's bier.
O'er Pitt's the mournful requiem sound,
And Fox's shall the notes rebound.

The solemn echo seems to cry —
'Here let their discord with them die.
Speak not for those a separate doom
Whom Fate made brothers in the tomb;
But search the land of living men,
Where wilt thou find their like again?'"
— *Sir W. Scott.*

According to the prejudiced account of Lord Holland, "The king had watched the progress of Mr. Fox's disorder, and could hardly suppress his indecent exultation at his death." This is incorrect, — we had almost added, cruelly incorrect. To quote the generous words of quite as good a Whig as Lord Holland, "We happen to know, from the certain testimony of the late Duchess of Gloucester, — who was with her father when the message was delivered, — that the king expressed, not satisfaction, but regret; and that he added the remark that the country could then ill afford to lose such a man." The fact is, that the zeal and ability displayed by Fox, while last in office, combined with his natural powers of pleasing, his abandonment of the question of Catholic emancipation, and his constant endeavours to win the confidence of his sovereign, had gone far to reconcile the king to the eminent statesman, whom, of all the public men of his day, he had disliked the longest and perhaps dreaded the most. "Little did I think," were the king's remarkable words to Lord Sidmouth, when he next saw him after

the closing scene at Chiswick, "that I should ever live to regret Mr. Fox's death." "I must here observe," said George the Fourth, in the course of a conversation with the late Mr. Croker at Windsor, "that my father was perfectly satisfied, and even pleased, I may say, with Mr. Fox, in all their intercourse after he came into office." Surely, after such evidences as these, Lord Holland's apparently unsupported assertion falls to the ground.

Lord Howick succeeded Mr. Fox as foreign secretary; Mr. Thomas Grenville was appointed first lord of the admiralty. Lord Fitzwilliam, having resigned the presidency of the Council, was succeeded by Lord Sidmouth. Lord Holland became lord privy seal.

CHAPTER X.

The King's Sight — His Mode of Living — The Catholic Question Revived — Termination of the Grenville Administration — Members of the Duke of Portland's Cabinet — Arrival of the Duchess of Brunswick — Death of the Bishop of Worcester — News of the Retreat to Corunna.

At the commencement of the year 1806, the king's sight is reported to have so far improved as to enable him to distinguish objects at the distance of twenty yards before him. As the year, however, advanced, no further improvement appears to have taken place. "I do not think," writes Sir Herbert Taylor to William Marsden, on the 19th June, "his sight is much worse than for some months past. It certainly has not made any progress; whilst the patience, resignation, and unutterable good humour with which he submits to so great a calamity, daily increase. Our friend, Sir Harry Neale, [1] will tell you that it is impossible to be with our good king, without finding every hour fresh cause to love and admire him."

The state of the king's eyesight, as a matter of course, debarred him from pursuing those active

[1] Admiral Sir Harry Neale, Bart., G. C. B., at this time a lord of the admiralty.

habits of mind and body to which he had, almost all his life, been accustomed, and also in other respects necessarily changed the complexion of his existence. "His Majesty's mode of living," according to a contemporary, "was not now quite so abstemious. He now sleeps on the north side of the castle, next the terrace, in a roomy apartment not carpeted, on the ground floor. The room is neatly furnished, partly in a modern style, under the tasteful direction of the Princess Elizabeth. The king's private dining-room, and the apartments *en suite* appropriated to his Majesty's use, are all on the same side of the castle. The queen and the princesses occupy the eastern wing. When the king rises, which is generally about half-past seven o'clock, he proceeds immediately to the queen's saloon, where his Majesty is met by one of the princesses, generally either Augusta, Sophia, or Amelia, for each in turn attend their revered parent. From thence the sovereign and his daughter, attended by the lady in waiting, proceed to the chapel in the castle, wherein divine service is performed by the dean or sub-dean. The ceremony occupies about an hour. Thus the time passes until nine o'clock, when the king, instead of proceeding to his own apartment and breakfasting alone, now takes that meal with the queen and the five princesses. The table is always set out in the queen's noble breakfasting-room, which has been recently decorated with very elegant modern

hangings, and, since the late improvements by Mr. Wyatt, commands a most delightful and extensive prospect of the Little Park. The breakfast does not occupy half an hour. The king and queen sit at the head of the table, and the princesses according to seniority; etiquette in every other respect is strictly adhered to. On entering the room the usual forms are observed agreeable to rank.

"After breakfast the king generally rides out on horseback attended by his equerries. Three of the princesses, namely, Augusta, Sophia, and Amelia, are usually of the party. Instead of only walking his horse, his Majesty now proceeds at a good round trot. When the weather is unfavourable, the king retires to his favourite sitting-room, and sends for Generals Fitzroy or Manners to play at chess with him. His Majesty, who knows the game well, is highly pleased when he beats the former, that gentleman being an excellent player.

"The king dines regularly at two o'clock, the queen and princesses at four. His Majesty visits and takes a glass of wine with them at five. After this period public business is frequently transacted by the king in his own study, wherein he is attended by his private secretary, Colonel Taylor.

"The evening is, as usual, passed at cards in the queen's drawing-room, where three tables are set out. To these parties many of the principal nobility, etc., residing in the neighbourhood are invited. When the castle clock strikes ten the

visitors retire. The supper is set out, but that is merely a matter of form, and of which none of the family partake. These illustrious personages retire at eleven to rest for the night. The journal of one day is the history of a whole year."

With the deaths of Pitt and Fox, the politics of the period cease to create any very exciting interest, as far at least as, with one or two exceptions, they are connected with the personal history of the sovereign. The younger race of statesmen — the Percevals, the Cannings, and the Castlereaghs — who had succeeded to the places vacated by Pitt, Fox, Burke, North, and Sheridan, neither equalled the brilliant powers of their predecessors, nor was it likely that the king, at his time of life, should have been eager to form new political friendships, or engage in new political hostilities. Desirous of passing the remainder of his days in peace and quiet, most willingly would he have left the chief management of public affairs in the hands of his ministers, but for the revival in the Cabinet of a question in which his religious feelings were deeply concerned, and which unhappily produced the effect of plunging him into the deepest affliction.

By an act of Parliament passed in the year 1793, the king's Roman Catholic subjects in Ireland had been allowed to rise in the army as high as the rank of colonel. The restriction of this boon to officers serving in Ireland was of course an anom-

aly, and accordingly Lord Grenville, with apparently the full approval of the Cabinet, including the Lord Chancellor Erskine and Lord Sidmouth, — both of whom were opposed as a general measure to Catholic emancipation, — proposed to insert a clause in the annual Mutiny Bill, extending the privilege to Catholic officers serving in the army in England and Scotland. So moderate an extension of an already existing law would probably, under ordinary circumstances, have met with little opposition from the king. Notoriously pledged, however, as was the majority of the present Cabinet, to grant relief to the Irish Catholics, and morbidly sensitive as was the king on the subject of his coronation oath, it was only natural that he should regard the proposed innovation, not as a mere exceptional act of grace, but as the precursor of a series of concessions likely to be urged upon him by his ministers. "The king," he writes to Lord Spencer on the 10th of February, "cannot but express the most serious concern that any proposal should have been made to him for the introduction of a clause in the Mutiny Bill which would remove a restriction upon the Roman Catholics; forming, in his opinion, a most essential part of the question, and so strongly connected with the whole, that the king trusts his Parliament would never under any circumstances agree to it. His Majesty's objections to this proposal do not result from any slight motive. They have never varied; for they arise

from the principles by which he has been guided through life, and to which he is determined to adhere. On this question, a line has been drawn from which he cannot depart, nor can Earl Spencer be surprised that such should be his Majesty's feelings, as he cannot have forgotten what occurred when the subject was brought forward some years ago. He had hoped, in consequence, that it would never again have been agitated." Nothing, surely, can be much more decided than this language, yet, only two days afterward, we find the king — whether in deference to the judgment of the Cabinet, or else convinced by their arguments — gracefully conceding the point to his ministers:

The King to Lord Grenville.

"QUEEN'S PALACE, February 12, 1807.

"The king has maturely considered what is stated in Lord Grenville's letter of the 10th instant, and the accompanying minute of Cabinet. He is disposed in this, as in all other instances, to do full justice to the motives which influence any advice which may be submitted to him by Lord Grenville and his other confidential servants; and however painful his Majesty has found it to reconcile to his feelings the removal of objections to any proposal which may have even the most distant reference to a question which has already been the subject of such frequent and distressing reflection, he will not, under the circumstances in which

it is so earnestly pressed, and adverting particularly to what passed in 1791, prevent his ministers submitting to the consideration of Parliament the propriety of inserting the proposed clause in the Mutiny Bill. While, however, the king so far reluctantly concedes, he considers it necessary to declare that he cannot go one step farther; and he trusts that this proof of his forbearance will secure him from being at a future period distressed by any further proposal connected with this question. G. R."[1]

Up to this period, and indeed till the beginning of March, not the slightest conception appears to have been entertained, either by the king or by the anti-Catholic members of the Cabinet, of any intention to propose to Parliament a further concession than that which has been already stated — namely, an extension to other parts of the United Kingdom of an act hitherto confined to Ireland. Widely different, however, was the construction which the liberal section of the Cabinet chose to put on the limited deviation from the statutes

[1] It was the opinion of the late Sir G. Cornewall Lewis that this and the preceding letter, as well as a subsequent one dated the 17th of March, are so unlike the peculiar epistolary style of George the Third, as to render it probable that, owing to the king's blindness, they were composed, not by himself, but by Sir Herbert. The reader, however, has by this time had a sufficient number of the king's letters laid before him, to enable him to form his own opinion on the subject.

which had been reluctantly consented to by the king. "In point of fact," writes one of them, Mr. Thomas Grenville, "we proposed, by a formal minute of Cabinet submitted to the king, to give all his subjects, of whatever persuasion, the capacity of serving in his army or navy, with no other exception or condition whatever than that of taking an oath of allegiance; these words being calculated to allow Catholics or Dissenters to enjoy the same military or naval rank as Protestants." Accordingly, provisions to this effect were subsequently incorporated in a bill which, on the 3d of March, was laid by ministers before the king, unaccompanied by any explanation on their part. In former days the king would probably have scanned every word of the new provisions.[1] On the present occasion, however, whether from the defective state of his eyesight, or that he considered it superfluous to examine the documents after the strong veto contained in his note of the 12th of February, he returned the bill unread, and consequently without offering any objection to the proposed enactment. Thus indirectly armed with the royal authority,

[1] Lord Eldon used to relate that he was one day reading over the heads of some acts of Parliament in the royal closet when the king thus interrupted him: "You are not acting correctly," he said; "you should do one of two things; either bring me down the acts for my perusal, or say, as Thurlow once said to me on a like occasion. Having read several, he stopped and said: 'It was all d——d nonsense trying to make me understand them, and I had better consent to them at once.'"

Lord Howick, the next day, Wednesday, the 4th, sent off a despatch to Ireland, intimating that the king had complied with the wishes of the Cabinet, and that it was his intention, therefore, on the following day to move for leave to introduce the bill into the House of Commons.

In the meantime, those members of the ministry who were opposed to Catholic emancipation had become no less alarmed at the largeness of the concessions which their colleagues had proposed to submit to Parliament, than surprised at the unqualified assertions of Lords Grenville and Howick, that the king had deliberately sanctioned them. Over and over again, both in private conversation with those two lords, as well as at the meetings of the Cabinet, Lord Sidmouth expressed his conviction that the king was only half informed in the matter; at the same time earnestly urging the wisdom and propriety of removing all misapprehension from the royal mind, previously to submitting the measure to the consideration of Parliament. Argument and entreaty, however, proved equally unavailing; and consequently Lord Sidmouth not only intimated to Lord Grenville his intention of opposing the bill during its progress through the House of Lords, but he also deemed it his duty to demand an audience with his sovereign, for the purpose of warning him of the perils which, in his opinion, were impending over Church and state. The king was at first "much disturbed and agitated;" but on

Lord Sidmouth intimating to him that he should certainly oppose the measure in Parliament, even though it might have his Majesty's concurrence, he appeared to be better satisfied. He also seemed to be much gratified when informed that the Speaker was also decidedly averse to the bill.

So soon as Lord Sidmouth had taken his departure, Lord Howick entered the royal closet, when the king at once, and "with strong emotion," expressed to him his displeasure at the uncandid manner in which he considered he had been treated. Unfortunately, however, he was in so excited a state, and his speech so nervously rapid, that when Lord Howick, whose word it is impossible to doubt, quitted the royal presence, it was with the conviction that, great as was the king's "general dislike" to the measure, he had virtually given it his assent. It was a reluctant consent, he admitted; "or perhaps," he added, "it would be more correctly stated as not having withdrawn the consent which had been originally given." Under these circumstances, Lord Howick made no scruple of fulfilling his original intention of introducing his bill into the House of Commons on the following day. There, Perceval, as leader of the opposition, at once attacked it as a most objectionable measure. In his opinion, he said, it was one of the most dangerous measures that had ever been submitted to the judgment of the legislature. Its tendency was obviously to abolish all

those tests which the wisdom of our ancestors had established for the safeguard of the Church of England; in fact, the bill was but another instance of that principle of innovation, which, for some time past, had been stealing in by degrees, and which was gradually growing stronger and stronger. The usual arguments and counter arguments were made use of on both sides of the House; the result being that the bill was read for the first time.

Distressed and indignant as the king must have been, on learning that, notwithstanding his protest, the bill had been introduced into Parliament, he nevertheless, to the surprise of every one, manifested but little outward displeasure; neither did he communicate to a single person the steps which he intended to take in consequence of the treatment which he had experienced. True it is, that he told Lord Grenville, a day or two afterward, that he never had consented, and never would consent to the measure, hinting also significantly that, "with a view to the prevention of all future mistakes," it were better that the resolutions of his ministers should be "stated on paper." Beyond this, however, they were unable to obtain any insight into his feelings and intentions; nor were the leaders of the opposition more enlightened than ministers. So surprised, indeed, were they at the king's reticence, that they began to fear that he had grown "apathetic and insensible to what

was passing." "We were totally in the dark," writes Lord Malmesbury, "as to what was going on." Under these circumstances, the Duke of Portland, at the instigation of Lord Malmesbury, deemed himself justified in taking the unconstitutional step of writing to the king recommending him to resist the bill; at the same time virtually offering himself as Lord Grenville's successor. The duke's letter to the king, dated the 12th of March, is fortunately extant. In so "momentous a crisis," he writes, when the "most venerated and sacred barriers of the Constitution are being undermined and sapped for the purpose of introducing a new system into Church and state," he humbly considers it his duty to suggest to his Majesty the advisableness of taking the conduct of his affairs out of the hands of his present ministers, and trusting to the nation to support him in the defence of the established laws of the realm. For himself, added the duke, notwithstanding his years and infirmities little qualified him to take the lead in his Majesty's councils, yet, should his sovereign require his services, he was prepared faithfully and zealously to stand by him to the end of his existence.

The king, however, without waiting for the advice of the well-meaning, but officious duke, had already decided upon his plan of action. On the preceding day, Wednesday, he had come up to London, and in an interview with his ministers at

Buckingham House, had explained his sentiments and intentions to them in language which it was impossible for them to misinterpret. To the bill, he said, which had been laid by them before Parliament "he never could consent." He regretted, indeed, that he had ever given his sanction to any part of the measure, and should certainly hold it as his duty to let his sentiments on the subject be known to Parliament. The same day he expressed himself in similar "strong terms" to Lord Sidmouth.

Under these circumstances, the Cabinet, in the first instance, thought proper to modify, and subsequently dropped altogether, the obnoxious bill; accompanying their concession, however, with a proviso, which in the eyes of the king deprived their forbearance of all its merit. At a Cabinet meeting, held on Sunday, the 15th, Lord Grenville, and such of his colleagues as were pledged to Catholic emancipation, placed a minute on record, to the effect that not only did they individually retain their former convictions, but that they considered it "obviously indispensable to their public character that they should openly avow them, both on the present occasion and in the possible event of the discussion of the Catholic petition in Parliament." This important declaration, threatening as it did to reopen, at any moment, a question which of all others the king most dreaded, naturally occasioned him great distress and alarm. That

same amiable consideration which had been shown for his religious scruples and increasing years by Pitt, and afterward by Fox, the king was of opinion he had an equal right to expect from his present ministers. Accordingly, he resolved either to obtain such a guarantee from them as would prevent their again troubling him on the question of Roman Catholic relief, or else to do his best to fill their places with other and more straightforward advisers. "The king," writes his Majesty to Lord Grenville, on the 17th of March, "considers it due to himself, and consistent with the fair and upright conduct which it has been, and ever will be his object to observe toward every one, to declare at once, most unequivocally, that upon this subject his opinions never can change; that he cannot ever agree to any concessions to the Catholics which his confidential servants may in future propose to him; and that, under these circumstances, and after what has passed, his mind cannot be at ease unless he shall receive a positive assurance from them which shall relieve him from all future apprehension."

To this demand on the part of the king, ministers felt that it was impossible that they could yield; and consequently, on the following day, Wednesday, Lord Grenville waited upon the king, and formally communicated to him the resolution of the Cabinet. The king inquired whether he was to regard it as their final one, and on Lord

Grenville answering in the affirmative, "Then," he said, "I must look about me."

Thus terminated the brief ministry known as the Grenville administration, or, more familiarly, as "All the Talents." It was the opinion of many persons that a little more prudence on the part of its leaders might long have delayed its overthrow; indeed, Lords Auckland and Buckinghamshire went so far as to denounce it as a "political suicide." For himself, said the latter nobleman, he was used to being "buffeted about;" but as for the Fox party in general, — considering that they had been struggling for power for thirty years, and had enjoyed it only one, — it was very hard to be turned out by the "unaccountable measures" of Lords Grenville and Howick. Sheridan, who was thus deprived of the lucrative appointment of treasurer of the navy, expressed the same opinion in bitter language. "I have known," he said, "many men knock their heads against a wall; but I never before heard of a man collecting bricks and building a wall for the express purpose of knocking out his own brains against it." It seems to have been pretty generally conceded at the time that, had Fox been alive, the king would never have been pressed upon the subject of Roman Catholic relief.

On Thursday, the 19th of March, — the day after the interview between the king and Lord Grenville at Windsor, — his Majesty summoned Lords Eldon and Hawkesbury to his presence.

The audience to which he admitted them lasted for two hours and a half; from twelve o'clock till half-past two. It was his wish, as the king told them, that, before he signified his pleasure to them, they should be made acquainted with his reasons for the important and perhaps hazardous step which he had taken. He then laid before them the correspondence which had passed between him and his late ministers, and minutely detailed the particulars of all that had passed during the recent transaction. He had never, he said, consented to the "more extended indulgences;" and consequently, when Lord Howick quitted the royal closet on the 4th, he either misunderstood or else affected to misunderstand him. His ministers, he added, had plainly intimated to him that they reserved to themselves the privilege of proposing in Parliament, at any future period, the removal of restrictions from the Roman Catholics to any extent. Under these circumstances, he put it to the two lords whether, conversant as they were with his sentiments on the subject of his religious obligations imposed upon him by his coronation oath, they considered he could have acted otherwise than he had done. It was simply, he said, a measure of necessity. He had been left no other option but either to dismiss his ministers, or forfeit his crown. As for what might be the possible consequences of the step which he had taken, the king took the responsibility entirely upon himself.

At the outset of the matter, he said, he had made up his mind to communicate with no one single person on the subject. He had not even spoken of it to the Archbishop of Canterbury, though he knew him to be stanch on the subject of Catholic emancipation. These, and such other particulars as the king communicated to the two lords, he desired that they would at once repeat to the Duke of Portland, signifying his pleasure to his Grace immediately to set about forming a new administration. "I have," he said, "no restrictions, no exceptions, to lay on the duke; no engagements or promises. He may dispose of everything; only," he added, laughingly, "Westmoreland must have a place." The king also suggested that, as a mark of respect for the memory of Mr. Pitt, the Earl of Chatham might be consulted;[1] further throwing out a hope that a place might be found for Lord Charles Somerset, whose wife, it would seem, was a particular favourite of the princesses.[2] The interview being now at end, the two lords hastened to London, where they waited upon the Duke of Portland at Burlington House, and detailed

[1] In the new ministerial arrangements Lord Westmoreland became lord privy seal, and Lord Chatham master-general of the ordnance.

[2] The princesses appear to have formed her acquaintance at Weymouth, where Lord Charles, second son of Henry, fifth Duke of Beaufort, and a general in the army, had been in command of the military force. Lady Charles Somerset was fourth daughter of William, second Viscount Courtenay.

to him the particulars of what had passed in the royal closet. They further informed his Grace that not only had they never seen the king more collected or more composed, but never more cheerful.

Personally, the king and his late first minister seem to have parted on very friendly terms. For instance, we find Lord Grenville writing, on the 18th, to the Speaker of the House of Commons, that he has "experienced much personal kindness during this business from the king;" while, on the other hand, we find the king expressing himself no less satisfied with the conduct of Lord Grenville. Moreover, to each of his other late ministers, at their farewell audiences, the king notified his satisfaction at their conduct on every other occasion but that which had constrained him to dispense with their services.

It was to be regretted that at this, the close of the long and memorable hostilities between the king and the leaders of the Whig party, the latter should not have allowed their intercourse to terminate thus amicably and gracefully. As usual, however, they made no scruple of raising the old Whig war-cries of "king's friends," and "secret influence behind the throne," which, forty years previously, George Grenville, the father of the discarded premier, had found so serviceable in advancing the interests of his party. Lord Howick, in the House of Commons, even went so far as to charge Lords Eldon and Hawkesbury with having been the

secret, malign, and insidious authors of the downfall of the late administration, though nothing can be clearer than that it was not till the day after Lord Grenville had received his dismissal at Windsor that either of those two lords held any communication whatever with the king on the subject nearest to his heart. "My son, Lord Hawkesbury," writes Lord Liverpool to Lord Auckland, "was as much surprised with this event as you could be. He never saw, nor had any communication with the king, though he knew his Majesty's affection for him, of which he was assured by some of the younger princesses in accidental conversations. He left me on Wednesday, the 18th of March, at eleven o'clock at night, not knowing or expecting anything. When he returned home, he found a letter from Colonel Taylor, commanding him to be at Windsor at ten o'clock the next morning with Lord Eldon."[1] Even if no other evidence were forthcoming, this passage, combined

[1] Had Lord Howick happened to have read this passage, or had he been aware of the contemptuous manner in which, two years previously, the king had spoken to Rose of Lord Hawkesbury's utter failure as secretary of state, he would doubtless have hesitated before he so publicly impugned the conduct of the king. Lord Hawkesbury, said the king to Rose, was not only "utterly unfit for his situation," but he "always approached him with a vacant kind of grin, and had hardly ever anything businesslike to say to him." Yet Lord Hawkesbury, when Earl of Liverpool, not only became prime minister under the regency, but remained at the head of the government for nearly fifteen years, viz., from June, 1812, to April, 1827.

with the king's own statement that he consulted no single person, would be sufficient to relieve him from the imputation of having been a mere puppet in the hands of others. Fortunately, however, further satisfactory testimony is forthcoming. "When," writes Sir Herbert Taylor, "the change of administration took place, in 1807, his Majesty took counsel from himself only, in the communications with those with whom he differed; and I am warranted in saying that there existed not the slightest foundation for the reports which were then spread of advice secretly conveyed, or of influence behind the throne, or of communication direct or indirect with his previous ministers pending the discussion with 'the Talents,' or before their removal from the administration had been established. Nay, on that occasion he placed in my hands, unopened, a letter addressed to him by one of the leaders of the opposite party; and I have it to this day (1838), with a minute to that effect." The letter referred to by Sir Herbert Taylor was, in all probability, the same which the Duke of Portland addressed to the king on the 12th.

The conduct of George the Third in thus discarding "the Talents" was regarded by many of the king's friends, no less than by his enemies, as an act of singular temerity and infatuation. Certainly, in the event of his failing to secure the services of other ministers, his situation must

necessarily have proved a very humiliating one. Friend and foe, at all events, were agreed in thinking that the chances were greatly against the king. Lord Eldon, to whom the Great Seal was restored, questioned whether he should be permitted to retain it for a fortnight. Lord Carlisle saw "nothing but misery at home, and rebellion in Ireland." Unless concessions were made to the Roman Catholics, said Lord Grenville, "the country could not be saved." Other leading statesmen of the day, to the king's great annoyance, intruded their remonstrances upon him, either in writing or else in interviews in the royal closet. Lord Auckland, whom he had once loved, addressed a letter of expostulation to him, of which, however, no notice seems to have been taken.[1] Neither did the advice personally pressed upon him by Lords Erskine and Hardwicke meet with more consideration. Lord Erskine, in a long harangue, — to which the king, though "greatly agitated," listened without once interrupting him, — had even the boldness to tell him that he could have taken no step more fatal than that of dismissing his late ministers; that, in fact, he stood upon "the brink of a precipice." The king's reply was sufficiently concise. "My lord,"

[1] Lord Auckland had formerly been held in great regard by the king, but had forfeited it, as he had also forfeited the regard of Lord North, by his political conduct. At Cuffnells, in the autumn of 1804, we find the king speaking of Lord Auckland in strong terms of displeasure.

he said, "you are a very honest man, and I am very much obliged to you." To Lord Hardwicke, under similar circumstances, the king was much less complaisant. "Lord Hardwicke," writes Earl Temple to the Marquis of Buckingham, "went of his own accord, unsent for, to remonstrate against the steps which the king has taken, and to tell him that he could not answer for the safety of Ireland, if he persisted in demanding of ministers the pledge. The king bowed him out of the room, complimenting him ironically on his independence, and upon his belonging to no party, and telling him that he could not depart from the resolution he had taken to insist upon the pledge."

In the midst of all this excitement, and while his friends were breathing nothing but misgiving and alarm, the king remained perfectly satisfied with the part which he had taken. The fact is, that an experience of forty-seven years had imparted to him a knowledge of human nature, and of the motives which influence the conduct of public men, as well as a skill in measuring the relative strength of rival parties, in which he was excelled by none of his contemporaries. Thus, perilous as, in the eyes of his friends, was the part which he had played, and unavailing as it was in the eyes of his enemies, he had, in fact, taken a step which, for the next three and twenty years, was destined to exclude his old adversaries, the Whigs, from power. "All will come right yet," had been his sanguine

words to Lord Sidmouth on the 25th of March. Moreover, what was very unusual with the king in a season of great political excitement, his mental and bodily health remained unimpaired. Lord Malmesbury speaks of him, on the 31st, as being "most firm and quite well;" and Lord Henley, a day or two afterward, as being in perfect health and spirits, though his "sight is not improved."

From the strong language in which the conduct of the king at this crisis has been impugned by the Whigs, it might be imagined that he alone had stood in the way of Roman Catholic emancipation. On the contrary, a spirit of bigotry and intolerance pervaded the length and breadth of the land. The ardour with which the Tories responded to their sovereign, by raising their profitable old war-cry that "the Church was in danger," proved how entirely the prejudices, as well as the affections, of the majority of the king's subjects were in his favour. If Lord George Gordon had been still alive, said Harry Erskine to the Duchess of Gordon, his lordship, instead of being committed to Newgate, would probably have been a member of the Cabinet. From all parts of the kingdom — from London, Edinburgh, Bristol, Glasgow, Aberdeen, Exeter, Birmingham, Liverpool, Newcastle-on-Tyne, Leeds, Manchester, the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, of Trinity College, Dublin, and St. Andrews, as well as from numerous counties and other cities and towns — continued to

pour in, week after week, the most enthusiastic addresses to the king, thanking him for "his late wise, pious, and steady resolution," and the paternal care with which, in days of innovation and change, he had guarded the religious interests of his people.[1] If anything could have added to the

[1] Of the sons of George III., the most zealous applauder of his father's conduct in resisting the claims of the Roman Catholics appears to have been the late King of Hanover. The following extract of a letter, addressed by his Majesty to the late Mr. Croker, on the 5th of January, 1845, evinces that a lapse of nearly forty years had made little difference in his principles and prejudices. "We are living in most extraordinary and strange times; and already I see that many of those things, which I had prophesied in 1804, have come to pass. Still one circumstance has come to my knowledge, which I learned to-day by the public prints, that arrived from England, which has not only shocked me, but disgusted me beyond all measure, and proves to me that ere long you will see the host publicly carried in procession down St. James's Street, Pall Mall, etc., — namely, a commission given at the Privy Council wherein the Catholic Primate of Ireland, the Archbishop of Armagh, is publicly so recognised by Queen Victoria in council. Is this not contrary to an act of Parliament? I may be mistaken, but if my memory does not fail me I believe I am correct. Do pray clear my mind upon the subject. Altogether, our Established Church seems to be in the greatest jeopardy, and when a house is divided against itself it must soon fall to pieces. Bishops Blomfield and Phillpotts seem to me to be raving mad, and it is high time for the government, if they are sincere in their wish to save the Established Church, to take strong and decided measures to put an end to all this scandal. This spirit of popery is raising its head to a horrible degree all over the continent, and my excellent friend and nephew, the King of Prussia, through a false notion of toleration, is daily giving way to the Catholic mania; so much so that the Protestant princes of Germany are beginning to be grievously alarmed. I

enthusiasm of his subjects, it was the current belief that his late ministers had either taken, or attempted to take, an unfair advantage of their royal master.

The new Cabinet was composed of the Duke of Portland, as premier and first lord of the treasury; of Mr. Perceval, as chancellor of the exchequer and leader of the House of Commons; the Earl of Westmoreland, as lord privy seal; Lord Hawkesbury, Canning, and Lord Castlereagh, as secretaries of state for the home, foreign, and war departments; Earl Camden, as president of the Council; Lord Mulgrave, first lord of the admiralty; Earl Bathurst, president of the Board of Trade; and Lord Eldon, as lord chancellor.

Probably the only member of the late Cabinet with whom the king parted with feelings of personal regret was Lord Sidmouth. It may be remembered how affectionately, in former days, the king had corresponded with that amiable nobleman; how great had been the interest which he took in his youthful family and domestic happiness; and how flattering had been the intimacy to which he admitted him. True it is, that this

remain firm to my old principles, and gave the clearest proof of this by dismissing out of my service, my minister at the court of Berlin, upon finding out he had become clandestinely a papist; and this naturally made the Protestants look up to me for support. In short, if I had the good fortune of being able to have an hour's quiet conversation, I think I could inform you of many things highly interesting."

pleasing intimacy had been interfered with by Lord Sidmouth's abandonment of Pitt in his hour of difficulty, and afterward by his unnatural coalition with the king's arch-enemy, Fox. The conduct, however, of Lord Sidmouth, during the three last exciting weeks had apparently obliterated every feeling of unkindness and displeasure from the mind of the king; and accordingly we not only find him speaking in approving terms of his former first minister both to Lords Eldon and Hawkesbury, but, on his retirement from office, writing him the following friendly and forgiving letter:

The King to Viscount Sidmouth.

"QUEEN'S PALACE, March 26, 1807.

"Although the king is deprived of the services of Lord Sidmouth in the arrangement which he has made for the formation of a new administration, his Majesty cannot release him from his situation without expressing to him the satisfaction which he has derived from the support which Lord Sidmouth has given to him throughout the progress of a transaction in which his decided principles and his feelings were at stake.

"The king is not less sensible of the readiness with which Lord Sidmouth complied with his wish that he should continue in office for the last fortnight, under circumstances which his Majesty is well aware must have been equally painful and

embarrassing; and he desires Lord Sidmouth will be assured that he shall ever feel a sincere interest in his welfare. "GEORGE R."

Of the king's new advisers, the minister whose return to office he doubtless greeted with the greatest satisfaction was Lord Eldon. Thus when, on the 1st of April, he delivered the Great Seal to him in the royal closet, "I wish and hope," he said, "you may keep it till I die." His contest with his late ministers, he told the new chancellor, had, in his opinion, been a struggle for his throne. He was determined to be either the Protestant king of a Protestant country, or no king at all. "He is remarkably well," writes Lord Eldon, the next day; "firm as a lion, placid and quiet beyond example in any moment of his life. I am happy to add that on this occasion his son, the prince, has appeared to behave very dutifully to him. Two or three great goods have been accomplished, if his new ministers can stand their ground. First, the old ones are satisfied that the king, whose state of mind they were always doubting, has more sense and understanding than all his [late] ministers put together. They leave him with a full conviction of that fact. Secondly, the nation has seen the inefficiency of 'All the Talents,' and may, perhaps, therefore, not injure us much by comparison."

On Tuesday, the 7th of July, arrived in England

an interesting relic of a former reign, — Augusta, Duchess of Brunswick, sister of George the Third, and mother of Caroline, Princess of Wales, and of Duke William Frederick, "Brunswick's fated chieftain," who fell at the battle of Quatre Bras. More than forty-three years had passed since, in the great council-chamber of St. James's Palace, the king had given her away in marriage to Charles, Hereditary Prince of Brunswick-Wolfenbuttel; and since then, we believe, the brother and sister had met but once.[1] Her near relationship to the king, the recent death of her husband, Duke Charles, from the wounds he received at the battle of Jena; and lastly, the fact of her having been driven from her home in Brunswick by the forces of Napoleon, rendered the venerable exile an object of considerable interest in England. From Gravesend — at which place she landed from the *Clyde* frigate, saluted by the guns from the forts on each side of the river — she proceeded to the residence of her daughter, the Princess of Wales, at Blackheath. There, the next day, she had the pleasure of embracing her charming granddaughter, the Princess Charlotte, who was brought from Warwick House to visit

[1] The duchess, who was the eldest child of Frederick, Prince of Wales, was born on the 31st of July, 1737, and was married to the Duke of Brunswick on the 17th of January, 1764. She died in England on the 23d of March, 1813, in her 76th year, and was buried in St. George's Chapel, at Windsor.

her ; and on the following day, Thursday, the king arrived from Windsor and partook of an early dinner with the duchess and his daughter-in-law. The meeting between the brother and sister is said to have been an affecting one. Three days afterward, on Sunday, the 12th, Speaker Abbot was introduced to the duchess at a dinner-party given by the Princess of Wales at Blackheath. "The duchess," he writes, "who is about a year older than the king, exceedingly resembles him in countenance, and still more in conversation and manner. She talked to everybody, and seemed to know everybody." When, some days afterward, the Speaker called with Mrs. Abbot at Blackheath, he again found himself in company with the duchess. "The Princess of Wales," writes the Speaker, "met us in an outer room, and showed us into a small dressing-room, where the Duchess of Brunswick was sitting in a sick-chair, having been indisposed for a day or two. We stayed about half an hour. The Princess of Wales left the room first, and the Duchess of Brunswick continued the conversation for some time longer. Her subjects were chiefly her dread of Bonaparte following her here ; her perpetual dislike of all Germans ; the persons she had known in England before her marriage ; and the anecdotes of George the Second's court. She had Coxe's 'Memoirs' before her." The work which the duchess was perusing was doubtless Archdeacon Coxe's volumi-

nous "Memoirs of Sir Robert Walpole," which would naturally be interesting to her as containing, among a mass of dry political matter, some curious private particulars relating alike to her own family and to persons whom she had known in her youth. The duchess would seem to have been fond of detailing the gossip of the past. Lord Malmesbury, who was thrown much into her society during his mission to Brunswick in 1794, mentions more than one occasion of her having entertained him with her recollections and anecdotes of former days.

The following letters, written by the king in 1807, evince that, notwithstanding the advance of years, and his almost total loss of sight, he continued to take his accustomed interest in public business and in the welfare of his kingdom. Lord Castlereagh, to whom they were addressed, was now secretary of state for foreign affairs. The letters were dictated by the king to Sir Herbert Taylor.

The King to Viscount Castlereagh.

"WINDSOR CASTLE, August 15, 1807.

"The king approves of the proposal, submitted by Lord Castlereagh, that the disposable force now in the Mediterranean should be withdrawn, with the exception of a garrison of eight thousand men, to remain for the defence of Sicily. His Majesty, however, conceives that, as this force is

no longer required for offensive purposes in the Mediterranean, it would be far more advisable to bring home the brigade of guards and some of the finest corps, than to station them for any time at Gibraltar, where they would suffer materially from crowded quarters and want of fresh provisions. It must also be recollected that the garrison of Malta has been more or less drained, and will require making up, and when the losses in Egypt, and other casualties, are adverted to, the numbers to be brought home, after leaving eight thousand effective men in Sicily, cannot be very considerable.

"The regiments may be much better completed, and prepared for any service at home, than in Gibraltar; and as the brigade of guards are not applicable to colonial service, it would be useless to shut them up in Gibraltar, and equally unadvisable to leave so fine a corps for defensive purposes in Sicily. GEORGE R."

The King to Viscount Castlereagh.

"WINDSOR CASTLE, December 25, 1807.

"Upon consideration of the instructions to M. General Spencer, which Lord Castlereagh has submitted, the king finds himself under the necessity of recalling to his mind that the German legions were raised for European service only, and cannot therefore be applied to that now pointed out for M. General Spencer's corps. His Majesty does

not object to the British regiments being sent to any of the western isles, but desires that the battalions of the German legions may either be left at Gibraltar, or proceed to Sicily.

"GEORGE R."

On the 28th of May, 1808, died, at his episcopal palace at Hartlebury, in his eighty-ninth year, the king's old friend and correspondent, Doctor Hurd, Bishop of Worcester. His diaries, to which he continued to make additions till within six weeks of his decease, mention a flattering visit paid to him on the 26th of the preceeding month of September by his old pupil, the Prince of Wales, accompanied by his brother, the Duke of Sussex, and by Lord Lake, the recent conqueror of Scindia and Holkar. The venerable prelate, after having descended gracefully and without pain into the vale of years, expired in his sleep, unattended by any of the "painful family of death." His remains, agreeably with his own directions, were interred in the churchyard at Hartlebury. It was remarked by George the Third of Bishop Hurd, on his first presentation at court, that he "thought him more naturally polite than any man he had ever met with."

From the time of the dismissal of the Grenville administration, till the commencement of the year 1809, no event of any importance, either domestic or political, seems to have disturbed the even

tenor of the king's existence. He was still exempted from total want of vision; his health continued to be good, and his spirits apparently even. On the 20th of January, 1808, Speaker Abbot inserts in his diary: "Went to the levee at the Queen's House. The king talked to me at length about the forms of the House of Commons, and the conversion of the Speaker's house in Palace Yard. He looked remarkably clear and well; rather grown large within the last twelvemonth; very cheerful." His habits, except that he seems to have kept earlier hours than ever, continued nearly the same as when we last described them. He rose at six o'clock in the morning, and at nine sat down to breakfast with the queen and the princesses. He usually dined by himself on a plain joint at one o'clock, and afterward joined the royal ladies at their dessert. As in former days, music, conversation, and cards passed away the evenings, and at ten o'clock the king and queen retired to rest. When the Speaker again attended the levee, on the 11th January, 1809, he discovered no change for the worse in his royal master. "Went to the levee," he writes; "the king talked to me about long speeches, long sittings, and public and private business, with his usual cheerfulness, and appeared to be in remarkably good health and countenance. There was a council after the levee."

Unhappily, however, many sorrows were in store

for the venerable monarch. The years 1809 and 1810 not only brought loss of vision, and incipient insanity, but they were in other respects among the most chequered of his existence. The first event which threw a gloom over the former year was the arrival in England, on the 23d of January, of the news of the calamitous retreat of the British army to Corunna, and of the death of the gallant Sir John Moore. The different effect which the intelligence produced on the minds of the king, and of the several members of the Cabinet, is described by Lord Bulkeley in a letter to the Marquis of Buckingham, dated the 26th of January: "Perceval and Castlereagh take the thing very coolly. Mulgrave and Westmoreland bawl out faction. Camden shakes his head like Lord Burleigh in the *Critic*. Canning is like a madman, they say. Bathurst and Chatham full of sang-froid, and so is Eldon. Liverpool, they say, looks sad, wretched, and thoughtful. But at headquarters[1] there is true courage and firmness, supported by a mind conscious of virtue, patriotism, and rectitude."

[1] The king.

CHAPTER XI.

Charges of Corruption Brought against the Duke of York by Colonel Wardle — The Duke Resigns the Commandership-in Chief — Walcheren Expedition — Illness and Death of the Duke of Portland — Distress of the King at the Prospect of Lord Grenville Returning to Office and Reviving the Question of Catholic Claims — Perceval Becomes Prime Minister — Celebration of the Fiftieth Year of the King's Reign — Court Gossip — Sellis's Attempt to Assassinate the Duke of Cumberland — Improved Conduct of the Prince of Wales — The King's Habits and Patient Endurance of Affliction.

At this time an unhappy transaction occurred, which, involving as it did the misconduct of one of the king's sons and the honour of the royal family, very naturally occasioned him the deepest distress. On the 27th of January, 1809, four days after the arrival of the news of the battle of Corunna, Col. Guillym Lloyd Wardle, member of Parliament for Oakhampton, and formerly colonel of the Welsh fusileers, brought forward in the House of Commons his famous charges against the Duke of York, of corrupt practices in the administration of his power and patronage as commander-in-chief of the army. The circumstances which originated those charges may be briefly related. About the year 1803, the Duke of York had formed a connection with a married woman of the name of

Mary Ann Clarke, a person of considerable beauty and powers of captivation. During their intimacy, which lasted till May, 1806, the duke not only supported her in an expensive establishment in London, but had the weakness and bad taste to consent to her taking a country-house in the neighbourhood of his own residence, Oatlands Park, where she had the effrontery to appear at the village church when the Duchess of York was present. Of the previous history of this lady, it is sufficient to say that her origin was a humble one, and that, in the interval between her separation from her husband and the commencement of her intimacy with the Duke of York, she had been under the protection, at different times, of at least two other men of pleasure.

In the opening speech in the House of Commons, in which Colonel Wardle specified the different offences which he undertook to substantiate against the head of the army, he not only charged the duke with having allowed his mistress to sell military commissions for her own advantage, but he also alleged that his Royal Highness had participated in the proceeds of her infamous traffic. Charges seemingly so outrageous were naturally listened to by the public with much incredulity, and by the king were indignantly discredited. In regard to his ministers, so completely did they share the king's perfect reliance in his son's innocence, that, instead of attempting to arrest inquiry, or, at all events, allowing the investigation of the

charges to take place before a secret committee of the House of Commons, which was all that Colonel Wardle originally demanded, they most unwisely insisted that, for the duke's sake, the inquiry ought to be conducted in the most open and public manner possible, and further, that the examination of the several witnesses should take place before a committee of the whole House. The result of their arriving at this decision proved to be most calamitous. "It was obvious," as Sir Samuel Romilly points out, "that such a proceeding must be most mischievous to the duke. Though no violation of the law might be established against him, yet the mere exposing to the public that he, who was mistakenly supposed by most persons to be leading a moral, decent, and domestic life, was entertaining at great expense a courtesan, the wife, too, of another man, and a woman who had risen from a very low situation in life, could not fail to do him irreparable mischief in the public estimation."

During nearly two months that the parliamentary inquiry lasted, the House of Commons, day after day, presented a most exciting and not very creditable scene. The spectacle of a splendidly and fashionably attired courtesan constantly presenting herself at the bar of Parliament, for the purpose of implicating the second prince of the blood, and the commander-in-chief of the British army, as a sharer in her nefarious traffic, was without a parallel in this, or perhaps in any other coun-

try. Witnesses of both sexes, of very exceptionable character, appeared day after day at the bar of the House. Details of the most scandalous description offended the grave, as much as they entertained the gay. The oldest members of Parliament never remembered to have seen the House so constantly well attended, as during this celebrated inquiry. The idlers at White's, and the frequenters of the opera, — whom at other times it had been found difficult to drag from the claret bottle or the ballet to vote even on the most important questions, — were now unfailing in their parliamentary attendance. "Sad work!" writes Wilberforce in his diary; "no apparent sense in the House of the guilt of adultery, only of the political offence." And again he writes: "What a scene are we exhibiting to the world! It was no more than was to be foreseen by any one who was ever so little acquainted with the House of Commons. We are alive to the political offence, but to the moral crime we seem utterly insensible; and the reception which every *double entendre* meets in the House must injure our character greatly with all religious minds."

The particular days on which the frail heroine of these dramatic proceedings appeared to give evidence were those, of course, which attracted the fullest attendance of members. Her entrance into the House seldom failed to create a commotion. If she happened to be in a state of agitation, cries of "A chair," "A chair," "A chair," resounded

from all sides, and the chairman politely invited her to be seated. Her good looks and elegant appearance, the calm courage which she displayed while subjected, day after day and hour after hour, to the most searching cross-examinations from Crown advocates and ministers of state, her happy powers of repartee, and lastly, the native wit with which she foiled the cunning of the lawyers and turned the laugh against the insolent, produced the not unnatural effect of exciting an extraordinary interest on her behalf. "The woman is very clever," writes Earl Temple, "and completely foiled Gibbs [1] in a very severe cross-examination of three hours." Even the rigid Wilberforce seems to have been half fascinated by her attractions. "House," he writes, "examining Mrs. Clarke for two hours. Cross-examining her in the old Bailey way. She elegantly dressed, consummately impudent, and very clever. Clearly got the best in the tussle. A number of particulars let out about life, mother, children." Again he writes, some time afterward: "Curious to see how strongly she has won upon people." One of her retorts was admirable. A certain member having bluntly asked her, "Pray, madam, under whose protection are you now?" the insulted woman, instead of condescending to answer the offensive question direct, calmly and gracefully addressed herself to

[1] Sir Vicary Gibbs, then attorney-general, and afterward Chief Justice of the Common Pleas.

the chairman, "At present, sir," she said, "I believe I am under yours."

Yet, after all, nothing could be much more disgraceful than these scenes. Public morality, the dignity of Parliament, the general question of the trustworthiness of men in high office, the honour and interests of the army, the credit of the royal family, and the mental as well as bodily health of the king, were all, more or less, affected by this important investigation. Nay, in those days, when the spirit of republicanism was still abroad, the inquiry threatened to shake the throne to its very foundations. In this light the affair seems to have been regarded by the Prince of Wales, whose alarm is described by Lord Temple as having been "very great," and whose conduct, probably in consequence of that alarm, would seem to have been very little to his credit. At the commencement of the inquiry, he had generously written a letter, which was intended to be shown to different members of Parliament, in which he had stated that he should "consider an attack upon the duke as an attack upon himself." The tide, however, of public opinion, no sooner turned against the duke, than, dreading lest a share of the odium might fall upon himself, he expressed his determination "not to interfere, by his friends or opinions, in the discussion," but to maintain "a state of neutrality." He considered, he told Lord Temple, that "his brother had brought all this upon himself; that

he had behaved shabbily to the woman to whom he had promised an allowance which, small as it was, he had not paid." [1] The prince then referred to a letter which the Duke of York had recently addressed to the Speaker of the House of Commons, in which, "in the most solemn manner, on his honour as a prince," he had not only asserted his innocence, but denied ever having had the "slightest knowledge or suspicion" of the corrupt practices which had been shown to have been in existence. This assurance the prince treated with the contempt which it may, or may not, have deserved. A gentleman's word, he said, was sacred; and how could his brother talk of his "honour as a prince" when he could not keep his word as a gentleman? He was determined, he added, not to interfere either in one way or the other. He had been no party to his brother's irregularities; he had never made the acquaintance of any of the women with whom his brother had become connected; he disliked such society; *chacun à son goût;* he thought his own taste, in regard to women, was better than the duke's. As for the duke himself, he is said to have been "dreadfully affected" by the whole business. He even went so far, as Speaker Abbot informs us, as to discard Mrs.

[1] The Duke of York, as admitted in the House of Commons by his friend, William Adam, had promised his mistress an annuity of £400 a year, which, after having been paid for a certain time, he had thought proper to withdraw.

Carey, the reigning sultana who had succeeded Mrs. Clarke in his libertine affections.

In the meantime, the extraordinary disclosures which were constantly transpiring continued to excite an indescribable sensation both in and out of Parliament. "The joke among the people in the streets," writes the Speaker, "is, when they toss up halfpence, not to cry 'Heads and Tails,' but 'Duke and Darling.'" "The scene which is going on in the House of Commons," writes Mr. W. H. Fremantle to Lord Buckingham, "is so disgusting, and at the same time so alarming, that I hardly know how to describe it to you. Every day and every hour adds to the evidence against the Duke of York, and it is quite impossible but he must sink under it." So great was the excitement which constantly prevailed in the House of Commons, that the authority of Perceval, as its leader, was scarcely recognised, and even the eloquence of Canning could scarcely secure him hearers. "You may judge the situation of the House," writes Mr. Fremantle, "when I tell you we were last night nearly three-quarters of an hour debating about the evidence of a drunken footman, by Perceval suggesting modes of ascertaining how to convict him of his drunkenness; Charles Long,[1] near whom I was sitting, telling me at the time what a lamentable proof it was of the want of some

[1] Joint paymaster-general, F. R. S., F. S. A., created, 8th July, 1816, Baron Farnborough.

man of sense and judgment to lead the House. There is no government in the House of Commons. You may rest assured the thing does not exist; and whether they can ever recover their tone of power remains to be proved. At present Mr. Croker, Mr. D. Brown, and Mr. Beresford are the leaders."

Meanwhile, also, every day and every hour continued to disclose the most startling and discreditable facts. The royal mistress, it appeared, far from having confined her brokerage to the sale of military commissions, had trafficked in almost every department of the state, and with persons of every class of society. For a favourite footman of her own, she had procured a commission in the army, and for an Irish clergyman the coveted privilege of preaching before the king. Since the days when the Duke of Lerma smiled at Gil Blas disposing of prebendal stalls and governorships of provinces, it would be difficult to point to a more miscellaneous hawking of government patronage. At the close of the proceedings, Lord Temple writes to Lord Buckingham: "The report is not yet made, but Leach, the chairman, has told me that the scene of infamy they open is dreadful, and that all that has passed is a trifle when compared with them.[1] A complete system of traffic of every

[1] Lord Temple alludes to a packet of letters addressed by Mrs. Clarke to one of her agents, Capt. Huxley Sandon, which had been discovered at the lodgings of the latter.

sort — for votes in the House upon particular questions, Pitt's Defence Bill, etc., for every sort of military appointment — is laid open; a statement of particular facts which could only have come to her knowledge from the Duke of York; repeated directions to Sandon to call at the office, where he will find such and such official letters for him." [1]

In the meantime, while a shameless woman was entertaining the House of Commons with her profligate confessions and repartees, the state of the royal family was greatly to be pitied. "I hear," writes Lord Bulkeley to Lord Buckingham, "the royal family at Windsor are wretched and unhappy;" and again Mr. Fremantle writes to the marquis: "Every part of the royal family at Windsor, excepting the king, is overwhelmed with despair at the Duke of York's business. The queen very ill, and two of the princesses dying. The king is said to bear it very firmly; but I have reason to believe he is indignant at his ministers, for having suffered it to come forward at all. The Duke of York, I am told by those who have seen much of him since, is quite sunk under it." The king, however, stoical as he appeared to be, evidently suffered no less than the other members of his family. The circumstance of his eldest son standing aloof, at a time when so threatening a cloud was hanging over his family, seems to have

[1] Sandon was an officer in the Royal Wagon Train.

especially affected him. In "great agony of mind" he sent to urge him to reconsider his determination. Neutrality, he said, was nothing more nor less than condemnation. The queen also wrote to the prince to the same effect. The honour of the royal family, she said, as well as the health, and perhaps the life of the king, were in his hands. The prince, however, was not to be diverted from the resolution which he had formed. He would send down, he said, the keeper of his privy purse, Colonel McMahon, to vote for the duke, but with regard to any other votes which it was in his power to influence, he positively refused to interfere. "Such," writes Lord Temple, "is the nature of the man!"

What remains to be told of this unhappy transaction may be briefly related. That the duke had allowed his mistress to interfere in the award of military promotions and exchanges, that he had granted commissions on her recommendations, and that he was cognisant of her having received money from those whom she had so recommended, was placed beyond a question. The mere fact of his having conferred a commission in the army upon a man whom it was proved in evidence that he well knew to be the servant of his mistress, was, as Mr. Fremantle describes it to Lord Buckingham, such "a scandalous and flagrant a misuse of his power," and so outrageous an insult to the military profession, that the duke was evidently

unfitted to remain at its head. But whether, on the other hand, he had been guilty, to use his own words in his letter to the Speaker, of "a corrupt participation in any of the infamous transactions" which had been brought to light, or even whether he had been aware at the time, as asserted by Mrs. Clarke in her evidence, that the profits of her nefarious brokerage went toward the support of the establishment which he had provided for her, are points on which the duke certainly deserves the benefit of a doubt. At all events, the House of Commons adopted a charitable view of the question, and exonerated him from the charge of personal corruption by a majority of eighty-two votes.[1] The same day the duke resigned his appointment as commander-in-chief.[2]

The King to the Duke of Portland.

"WINDSOR CASTLE, March 18, 1809.

"The king acquaints the Duke of Portland that he has this day reluctantly accepted the resigna-

[1] The numbers were 278 against 196. An amendment proposed by Sir Thomas Turton, charging the duke with the knowledge of corrupt practices, was lost by 334 votes against 135.

[2] The Duke of York was reinstated in the office of commander-in-chief by his brother, the prince regent, on the 25th of May, 1811. On the 6th of the following month Lord Milton moved in the House a resolution to the effect that it "has been highly improper and indecorous in the advisers of the prince regent to have recommended to his Royal Highness the reappointment of the Duke of York to the office of commander-in-chief." The motion was defeated by 296 votes against 47.

tion of the Duke of York, which has been conveyed to his Majesty in a letter of which he has sent the copy to Mr. Perceval, and which he will, of course, communicate to his colleagues.

"Under these painful circumstances, his Majesty's attention has been directed to the necessary arrangements for the future administration of the army, and, after consulting the army list, the king has satisfied himself that General Sir David Dundas is, of all those whose names have occurred to him, the fittest person to be entrusted with the chief temporary command, both from habits of business, respectability of character, and from the disposition which his Majesty is convinced he will feel to attend strictly to the maintenance of that system and those regulations which, under the direction of the Duke of York, have proved so beneficial to the service.

"It does not appear to his Majesty that any change will be required in the constitution of the commander-in-chief's office, or in the various official establishments connected with it.

"GEORGE R."[1]

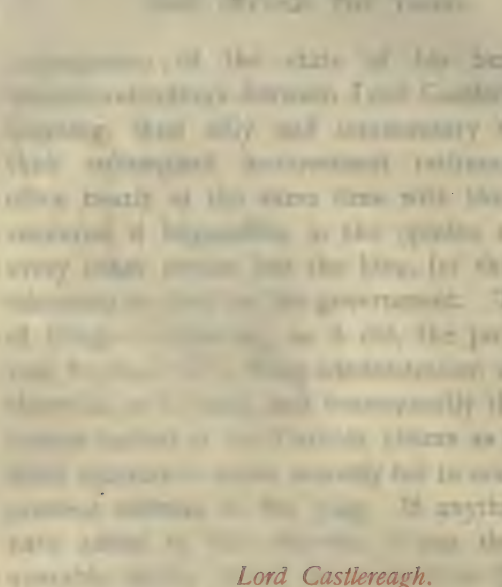
The king, as age and blindness increased upon him, seems to have grown more and more averse

[1] Sir David Dundas, Bart., was appointed commander-in-chief on the 25th of March, 1809, which office he filled till May, 1811, when the Duke of York was reappointed. Sir David died in February, 1820.

to the transaction of business and the discussion of political matters. As the year, however, advanced, the disastrous progress of the celebrated Walcheren expedition, combined with the threatened dissolution of the ministry in consequence of the alarming illness of the Duke of Portland, compelled the king to fix his thoughts anew on public affairs; thus producing a degree of excitement in his mind which it was ill capable of enduring. The illness of the duke occasioned him much personal distress. His Grace, after having attended a council in London on the 11th of August, was on his way to his seat at Bulstrode Park when he was seized with a paralytic stroke, and, on his arrival there, was removed from his carriage speechless and insensible. "The king," writes Mr. W. H. Fremantle, on the 13th, "was informed of his severe illness, but to him it was called a fainting-fit. Nothing can equal the gloom it has created at Windsor." Of course, the real state of the duke could not long be kept concealed from the king. "The king," writes Fremantle, "is gloomy to a degree, and I know him to be in a state of the greatest distress of mind, but not irritable in the slightest manner." And again, on the 17th, he writes, "All is despair and gloom at Windsor to the greatest degree."

In the course of the following month of September, affairs looked even worse. The retirement of the Duke of Portland from office, in

consequence of the state of his health, the misunderstandings between Lord Castlereagh and Canning, their silly and unnecessary duel, and their subsequent inconvenient retirement from office nearly at the same time with the duke — rendered it impossible, in the opinion of almost every other person but the king, for the present ministers to carry on the government. This state of things — involving, as it did, the probable return to power of a Whig administration with Lord Grenville at its head, and consequently the almost certain revival of the Catholic claims as a government measure — could scarcely fail to occasion the greatest distress to the king. If anything could have added to that distress, it was the unconquerable dislike which, since the time that Lord Grenville — to use the king's own words — had attempted to "force his conscience," he had conceived for that nobleman. He had borne with fortitude, he said, many indignities, and many most disagreeable embarrassments, during his life, but if Lord Grenville were again forced upon him, he thought his nerves would be unequal to "such an endurance." More than once, during the last two years, the king had told Rose that Lord Grenville was more obnoxious to him than Fox had ever been. Doubtless, Lord Grenville's unconciliating manners, and unbending nature, had much to do with the king's repugnance. Lord Grenville himself admits, in one of his letters to his brother,



Lord Castlereagh.

Photo-etching after the painting by Lawrence.

Lord Buckingham, that he is not "competent for the management of men."[1]

How ill at ease at this crisis was the heart of the afflicted king, we have ample evidence to prove. To Lady Eldon the chancellor writes, on the 14th of September: "I am just going to a meeting of such of us as have hearts feeling for the king, to see what can possibly be done, as all attempts to bring matters to rights again have finally failed. I cannot, for one, see a ray of hope that anything can be arranged which can have any endurance; — if, indeed, any arrangement whatever can be made. And yet the poor king, in language that makes one's heart bleed for him, urges that we should not run away from him. My head and heart are perplexed and grieved for my old master's sake." Again, Lord Eldon writes to Lady Eldon, on the following day: "If I knew that I was to go out, I would come to you instantly, and stay over Christmas. If I knew I was to stay in, I could then know when and how I was to see you. Some of the plans proposed are what I do most greatly abhor, and I think they won't succeed. I have offered my office to the king and told him — for I write constantly

[1] One of the few points on which the king and his eldest son agreed seems to have been in a mutual dislike of Lord Grenville. "Lord Cholmondeley," writes Lord Bulkeley, "told me, at Brooks's, last year, that the prince could not bear Lord Grenville because he could not talk b——y. How Perceval passes that ordeal I should like to know."

when I don't see him — my likings and dislikings. 'For God's sake,' he says, 'don't you run away from me! Don't reduce me to the state in which you formerly left me. You are my sheet-anchor!' I fear the effects of his agitation and agony; and I do pray God to protect him in this his hour of distress."

The expedient which ministers, after repeated deliberations among themselves, decided upon proposing to the king, was a coalition with Lords Grenville and Grey. They were fully aware, as they admitted to their friends, how great would be the king's repugnance to such a measure, but the advice, they said, was the best which they had to offer him. Accordingly, on Tuesday, the 19th, Perceval laid before the king, at Windsor, a minute of the Cabinet, explaining their motives for recommending a procedure which they knew to be so unpalatable to their sovereign. The king, as Perceval informed the Speaker, showed himself "extremely adverse to the proposed overture," but nevertheless consented to take it into his consideration.[1] It was his intention, he said, to commit his sentiments to paper; at the same time he desired that a meeting of the Cabinet should be convened for the following Thursday, the 21st,

[1] Lord Colchester represents the interview between the king and Perceval to have taken place on a Monday, which would fix it to have been either on the 18th, or the 25th. The interview, however, clearly took place on Tuesday, the 19th.

when the document should be laid before his ministers, for their information and advice. When, on the intervening day, Wednesday, Lord Eldon saw the king, he found him greatly agitated and undecided. "After I finished my letter yesterday," he writes to Lady Eldon, on the 21st, "I went to the levee, and I had an audience of the king for a full hour. His agitation and uneasiness were such as have left me perfectly agitated and uneasy ever since I left him, though I thank God I am quite well. I dare not commit to paper what passed."

The Cabinet met on the appointed day, the 21st, but, to their surprise, without receiving any letter from Windsor. "We waited at our meeting to a late hour," writes Lord Eldon, "but no paper came from the king. I infer from this that he is in a most unhappy state of difficulty and knows not what to do; and I greatly fear that something of the very worst sort may follow upon the agitation." On the following day the Cabinet met again; the promised communication from the king having in the interim been received. "After I wrote to you yesterday," continues the lord chancellor, "I went to the meeting, and I there found that Perceval had received the king's paper, which is one of the finest compositions, and the most affecting, I ever saw or heard in my life. After discussing the strength which any administration could have that did not include Grenville and

Grey, he acknowledges that there would be a weakness in it, which a sense of duty to his people calls upon him, by every personal sacrifice, not affecting his honour and conscience, to endeavour to avoid. He therefore permits his present servants to converse with them upon a more extended administration than his present servants could themselves make; but declares previously and solemnly that if any arrangement is offered to him which does not include such a share of his present servants as shall effectually protect him against the renewal of measures which his conscience cannot assent to, that he will go on with his present servants at all hazards, throwing himself upon his people and his God, — his people whose rights, he says, he never knowingly injured, and his God, to whose presence he is determined, whenever he is called hence, to go with a pure conscience. He predicts, however, that though he, in duty to his people, submits to this mortifying step, they — Grenville and Grey — will not allow any effect to it; and then addresses himself, in the most pathetic strains, to all his present servants, calling forth all their courage, their resources, and the discharge of their duty to him."

During the king's interviews with Perceval at this time, he not only repeatedly expressed his determination to resist the claims of the Roman Catholics, but reiterated the asseverations which he had made in former days, that sooner than yield

to them, he would abandon his throne. Why, he asked, did not Lords Grenville and Grey follow the generous example of Mr. Pitt, by promising to refrain from persecuting him with the question during the remainder of his life? Mr. Pitt, he said, had not only given him that promise, both verbally and in writing, but had guaranteed to oppose the measure in Parliament, by whomsoever it might be brought forward. The convictions of the two lords, he added, were but the convictions of yesterday, while on his part, he was required to abandon the fixed principles of a whole life.

As the king had anticipated, Lords Grenville and Grey rejected the overtures which were made to them;[1] the result being that the present ministers, with the accession of the Marquis Wellesley as foreign secretary, and with Mr. Perceval as prime minister, were left to carry on the government as best they might. Perceval became first lord of the treasury and chancellor of the exchequer; Lord Hawkesbury removed from the

[1] Sheridan, and perhaps many others, were of opinion that the two lords were to blame for refusing office. Rose, speaking of a dinner at which he was present in Merchant Tailors' Hall, on the 25th of October, writes: "Mr. Sheridan was at the dinner also, and I had a good deal of conversation with him after it was over. He blamed the conduct of Lord Grey and Lord Grenville, and said they had given the government very great advantage by it; lamented that Lord Grey had not asked an audience with the king; and expressed a most decided opinion of the folly and madness of again stirring the Catholic question during the king's life, as well as the cruelty; adding that the

home office to be secretary for war and the colonies; Mr. Richard Ryder, brother of the Earl of Harrowby, succeeded Lord Hawkesbury as home secretary.

How justly founded and sagacious were the king's anticipations was proved by the results of ministers having followed the advice which he gave them. The facts are not a little remarkable, that, instead of the Portland administration falling so rapidly to pieces as had been feared by friend and foretold by foe, two of its members — Lord Eldon as lord chancellor, and the Earl of Westmoreland as privy seal — continued to hold those appointments for no fewer than eighteen years, while the late premier, Lord Palmerston, who became secretary at war, retained that situation for as many as nineteen years.

The 25th of October this year, being the day on which the king commenced the fiftieth year of his reign, was celebrated throughout the empire with extraordinary rejoicings. Thanksgivings were offered up in the churches; debtors were liberated

two peers had had a pretty good assurance of the feelings of the country upon it." Even Lord Grey himself is said to have admitted that the Catholics themselves "did not wish the question to be pressed, nor care a farthing about it;" adding that if he had been sent for to the royal closet he would, "in a single sentence, have set the king's mind at ease." These sentiments would seem to have come to the knowledge of the court; at least Lord Bathurst told Rose that the king would not have objected to Lord Grey, although the dislike which he entertained for Lord Grenville was "insuperable."

from prison; military delinquents were pardoned; the poor were feasted and clothed; gay festivities did honour to the day, and brilliant illuminations to the night.

On the 30th of October, five days after the anniversary of the king's accession, died the Duke of Portland. Though boasting neither splendid abilities nor a vigorous understanding, his judgment was, generally speaking, sound, his political principles pure, and his motives patriotic. In disposition and character, he was a mild, an amiable, and a thoroughly honourable and upright man. He had long been a great sufferer from a most excruciating disorder; his friend, Lord Malmesbury, informing us that, after the duke had become premier, in 1807, it was "solely by opiates and laudanum" that he was enabled to support the fatigues of office. The following year his condition grew worse. "His complaint, the stone," writes Lord Malmesbury, "was returning; and the excruciating pain this occasioned, joined to the worry and torment of his official situation, quite broke him down. I have been often with him when I thought he would have died in his chair; and his powers of attention were so weakened that he could neither read a paper, nor listen for awhile, without becoming drowsy and falling asleep. Yet he would never let me go away after dinner when the rest of the company went, but always urged me to remain on with him, which I often did for hours, when he

was equal neither to talk nor to hear. About twelve or one o'clock he generally rallied, and he has made me sit up many nights after my usual hour of retiring, particularly two, the 18th and 19th of January, 1808, when he wished me to assist him in drawing up the king's speech for the opening of Parliament on the 21st. The duke expired, shortly after having undergone a painful surgical operation, in the seventy-second year of his age. It was the conviction of the Dean of Christchurch, communicated by him to Speaker Abbot, that so great was the mental disquietude which the duke had suffered from the state of public affairs, that had his complaint not been a mortal one, he would have died of a broken heart.

During the remainder of the year, we find the king not only to all appearance in the possession of good health and spirits, but indulging, on more than one occasion, his former love of harmless pleasantry. When, for instance, on the 1st November, the Speaker waited upon him at his levee, the king good-humouredly inquired of him whether his object in coming to London was to attend the ceremony of the further prorogation of Parliament. The Speaker answered in the negative, adding that the practice had been discontinued by his predecessor. "Oh!" said the king, "I will tell you how all that came about. Sir John Cust wanted to go to Spa, and desired I would excuse his attendance upon the prorogation during the recess. Then came

Sir Fletcher Norton, and he took advantage of the last precedent. Mr. Cornwall followed the same; and so the Speakers have all considered themselves as going to Spa ever since." Again, when, in the following month, Lord Grenville stood as a candidate for the chancellorship of the University of Oxford, in the vacancy occasioned by the death of the Duke of Portland, the king observed to Lord Eldon, "It will be hard if Oxford should have a popish chancellor, as well as Cambridge an Unitarian one." The king of course referred to his former first minister, Augustus, Duke of Grafton, who was more than suspected of entertaining Unitarian principles.

The following trifling piece of court gossip, as connected with the peculiarities of a celebrated man, may not be thought unworthy of insertion. "Lady de Clifford," [1] writes a contemporary, "told me that in a conversation she had with the king at Windsor something was said of Lord Erskine's Bill for Prevention of Cruelty to Animals; on which his Majesty asked Lady de Clifford if she had heard that Lord Erskine believed in the transmigration of souls; that he had been told so, and, as a proof of it, kept two leeches in a bottle, whom he called two of his departed friends. Lady de Clifford told the king he had been much misinformed; that it was true indeed that Lord

[1] Sophia, Dowager Lady de Clifford, governess to the Princess Charlotte. Lady de Clifford died in 1828.

Erskine kept two leeches, and that he called them Doctor Baillie and Mr. Hume, his physician and surgeon, meaning that he made use of them as such." It may be mentioned that Lord Erskine's eccentric affection for these leeches created a good deal of amusement among his friends and acquaintances.

"The year 1810," writes Miss Cornelia Knight, who was still domesticated with Queen Charlotte, "was a very melancholy one at Windsor. The attempt to assassinate the Duke of Cumberland caused great disquietude. Then followed the afflicting illness which ended in the death of the amiable Princess Amelia, and lastly, the malady that overwhelmed our excellent sovereign cast a gloom over the castle which was never removed during the remainder of my stay in its neighbourhood." Dark days, indeed, brooded over the royal family; but by far the darkest were those which were in store for the venerable king.

The mysterious attempt on the life of the Duke of Cumberland, referred to by Miss Knight, took place in St. James's Palace in the dead of the night of the 30th of May, or, rather, early in the morning of the 31st. In connection with this tragical affair, many painful surmises and dark accusations were more than whispered at that time. Among others, a shocking rumour got abroad that, instead of any attempt having been made upon the life of the duke, he was, in fact, for certain private reasons,

the murderer of his pretended assassin. The imputation, however, as will be seen by the following statement of the facts of the case, such as they were affirmed on oath at a coroner's inquest, appears to have been equally scandalous and untrue. About half-past twelve o'clock, the duke, after having dined at Greenwich, and afterward attended a concert for the benefit of the Royal Society of Musicians, returned to his apartments in St. James's Palace, overlooking Cleveland Row. About one, he retired to rest. His sleeping-room, which was a large one, was very dimly lighted by a lamp, which stood behind a screen in the fireplace in a distant corner of the apartment. The duke's bed stood in a recess, behind which was a small room, in which the page in attendance, one Neale, was accustomed to sleep. On the sofa lay the duke's military sabre, which, with his sanction, a favourite valet, one Sellis, a Piedmontese, had recently had repaired and sharpened.

About half-past two o'clock in the morning the duke was aroused by a blow on the head, which was immediately followed by a second blow. His first impression was that a bat had got into his apartment and was beating about his head. The light of the lamp, however, gleaming on the sabre, he at once perceived the extreme peril of his situation, and accordingly, following the first impulse of the moment, he felt for the bell-rope which usually hung over the head of his bed, but which, whether

accidentally or designedly, had been displaced. The duke, who had now received a third stroke, sprang from his bed and rushed toward the door of the apartment of the page in attendance; his assailant at the same time pursuing him. Fortunately he succeeded in opening the door, but not till he had received a wound in the thigh, and other injuries. The assassin, having previously dropped the sabre, now made good his retreat in the darkness. A dent which was subsequently discovered in the door, as well as the circumstance of the point of the sabre being bent, evinced how narrow had been the escape of the duke. A picture near the door was found to be slightly splashed with blood.

In the meantime, the duke, with the assistance of the page, Neale, had succeeded in alarming his Royal Highness's household, and in obtaining the assistance of the sergeant and soldiers on guard. The duke now earnestly inquired for Sellis, but in vain. Those who were despatched to summon him not only found the door of his apartment fastened inside, but to their repeated exclamations that the duke had been assassinated, no answer was returned. It was then remembered that there was another entrance approachable by the principal staircase, which they had no sooner ascended, and opened the door of Sellis's apartment, than they were appalled by a most horrifying spectacle. Sellis was discovered sitting half undressed, in a reclining posture, on his

bed, with his throat cut from ear to ear, and with life extinct. His countenance was not only composed, but is said to have worn rather a smiling expression. On a chest of drawers, near the bedside, lay a razor, and a basin containing water tinged with blood. The inference would seem to be, that, after having attacked his master, he had rushed back to his own apartment with the intention of washing the duke's blood from his hands, and of getting into bed as soon as possible, but that the approach of the persons sent in search of him told him that detection was inevitable, and induced him to commit suicide in order to avoid the consequences of his crime. The fact is worthy of mention, that Sellis was a left-handed person, whereas it was the conviction of one of the physicians who examined his body after death, that the wound in his throat must have been inflicted with the right hand. Opposed, however, to this somewhat suspicious circumstance, were the further facts that the left sleeve of his coat was found soaked with blood, and that some blood, which was discovered on one of the doors, was also on the left side.

The jury which sat in inquest over Sellis's body was composed of the principal tradesmen about Whitehall and Charing Cross, and as their political opinions were, generally speaking, diametrically opposed to those of the High Tory and High Church party, of which the Duke of Cumberland was one of the main pillars, it may be

presumed that they entered upon their investigation without being much prejudiced in his favour. The inquiry, however, seems to have been carried on with the greatest impartiality, and to have completely satisfied the jury of the perfect innocence of the duke. After having sat hearing evidence for four hours, and deliberating upon it for another hour, they agreed upon returning a verdict of *felo-de-se* against Sellis. The body of the suicide was interred in "the highroad" in Scotland Yard.

This tragical affair, as may readily be supposed, created an extraordinary sensation at the time. "It was the fashion," writes Miss Knight, "to go and see the duke's apartments, which for several days were left in the same state as when he was removed. The visitors discovered traces of blood upon the walls, etc.; but, for my part, I did not join the crowd whose curiosity led them to this horrid scene."

Discarding as very improbable, if not utterly worthless, the scandalous rumours which were current at the time, we are inclined to adopt, as setting forth the true causes of Sellis's murderous attack on the Duke of Cumberland, the following MS. version of a well-informed contemporary. "I strongly suspect," writes Colonel Willis, "that the motives which actuated Sellis in his attempt to assassinate the Duke of Cumberland were the taunts and sarcasms that the duke was constantly, in his violent, coarse manner, lavishing on Sellis's relig-

ion, who was a Catholic. This conduct, in addition to the part the duke had notoriously taken to prevent the extension of entire toleration to that religion, appear to be very sufficient motives to induce a bigot to commit the most desperate action." Again, in the month of July, Colonel Willis inserts in his diary: "Called at Carlton House. In going out saw Colonel McMahon,[1] who told me that the Duke of Cumberland had dismissed Captain Stephenson in a very harsh, severe manner; the cause as follows. Stephenson dined at the prince's table in company, among others, with Mr. Blomberg.[2] Stephenson was asked if the duke had on any occasions treated his servants cruelly or harshly. He replied, 'No; his conduct was much the contrary. He remembered, indeed, some years ago, Sellis, the assassin, being in the act of pulling off the duke's boots, the latter gave him a kick which threw him; that this act, at the time, seemed to produce no resentment on the part of Sellis, who with the duke and Stephenson all joined in the laugh. Blomberg the next day went to Windsor and related this story to the king, probably with some additions. His Majesty, on hearing it, expressed strong disapprobation at Stephenson's conduct, and said he was

[1] Col. John McMahon, keeper of the privy purse and secretary extraordinary to the Prince of Wales.

[2] The Reverend Mr. Blomberg, private secretary to the Prince of Wales.

a very improper person to remain in the duke's service, as he could not but suppose Sellis would wait an opportunity of revenging himself.'"

The distress which this painful incident — combined with the exposure of the Duke of York's irregularities — entailed upon the king was happily in some degree counterbalanced by his becoming reconciled to his heir. The prince, it seems, had at length learned to appreciate the sterling qualities of his venerable father. The prince's behaviour, at the time when the illness of the Duke of Portland threatened to bring back the dreaded Grenvilles to power, seems to have been especially gratifying to the king. "What is most unexpected," writes Lord Eldon, "the prince has really conducted himself toward his father upon this occasion with exemplary propriety. The king showed me the prince's letter to him and his answer."[1] The following pleasing letter from the prince affords additional evidence of the creditable change which had taken place in his feelings and opinions:

The Prince of Wales to Lord Eldon.

"CARLTON HOUSE, May 8, 1810.

"MY LORD: — His Majesty having been graciously pleased to give his commands to your lord-

[1] It would seem that, as far back as 1807, the prince had changed his former liberal views in regard to Catholic emancipation.

ship to make communication to me respecting the filling up the situation of sub-preceptor to my daughter, and having been further pleased to intimate to me, through your lordship, that I should inquire into and consider the qualifications of the Reverend Mr. Short, Archdeacon of Cornwall, as a proper person to discharge the duties of that most important trust, I have accordingly taken the best means within my power to ascertain his fitness, and I have the satisfaction to announce to your lordship that the results of my inquiries have been in all respects most satisfactory, and that with his Majesty's approbation it appears to me that it would be suitable that Mr. Short should forthwith enter upon the duties of the station.

"I cannot conclude this letter without expressing to your lordship the sincere gratification with which I have received, through your lordship, his Majesty's sentiments respecting this most interesting subject, and I trust to the very particular attention, which has marked your lordship's proceedings through the whole of this business, to take the most suitable course of conveying to the king, with the most profound respect and duty on my part, the feelings with which I am impressed on this occasion by his Majesty's most gracious and condescending attention to me.

"I am, my lord, very sincerely yours,

"GEORGE P.

"*To the Lord Chancellor.*"

Unavoidably uniform and monotonous as were the habits and pursuits of George the Third at this time, the story of his life of comparative seclusion is nevertheless not devoid of interest. He still continued constant in his morning attendances at chapel, whither, in consequence of his blindness, he was conducted by two attendants. On these occasions, not only were the responses to the prayers delivered by him with the earnest and audible voice of former days, but it was observed that, during the reading of the psalms, he repeated the alternate verses after the clergyman almost as correctly as if he had been in the enjoyment of his eyesight, with his prayer-book lying open before him. After breakfast, if the weather was fine, the king rode out on horseback, accompanied usually by two of the princesses; a carriage containing the court ladies in attendance immediately following. On these occasions, as he was unable to guide his horse, two of the royal grooms rode constantly one on each side of him.

During the summer evenings the king still continued to enjoy his favourite promenades on the terrace at Windsor, where two bands of music played alternately. He usually made his appearance at seven o'clock, at which hour a door in one of the towers of the castle was thrown open, and then was witnessed the affecting sight of the venerable monarch, assisted by his two attendants, feeling his way with a stick down the steps which

led to the terrace. His dress on these occasions was usually a blue coat, to the breast of which was affixed the star of the Order of the Garter; the rest of his apparel being white. On his hat, which was shaped so as to shade his eyes, he wore a cockade and a gold button and loop.

On reaching the terrace, the king generally placed his arms in those of two of the princesses, who walked with, and guided him, till his return to his apartments. As the royal party passed along, the company made way for them, by withdrawing on either side. It was generally understood to be the wish of the king, that no other notice should be taken of him than the gentlemen removing their hats as he passed. When he approached any one whom the princesses considered he might wish to recognise or converse with, they whispered the name of the person to him, when he usually stopped and entered into a familiar conversation, of longer or shorter duration. On these occasions, ill at ease as was his heart on account of the failing health of his favourite daughter, the Princess Amelia, his cheerful manner and perfect good humour were the subjects of general observation. On passing the band, before ascending the steps on his return to his apartments, his invariable custom was to raise his hat, saying audibly, "Good night, gentlemen; I thank you."

Sir Herbert Taylor, the king's confidential and high-minded private secretary, had now been

attached to his person for five years. As his constant companion, he had watched the gradual encroachments of his terrible infliction, blindness; he had been the confidant of his afflicted master in many a sad and trying difficulty. Few men, therefore, had been afforded more frequent or more favourable opportunities of observing the character of George the Third, and as few men, also, were better judges of human nature, we are naturally anxious to ascertain the opinion which so competent, and at the same time so conscientious an authority, had formed of the character of his sovereign. Happily, some years after the death of his royal master, circumstances induced Sir Herbert to commit his convictions to paper. "The loss of sight," he replies to Lord Brougham, "was borne with exemplary patience and resignation; and neither this nor other trials produced, while his Majesty continued in a sound state of mind, any ebullition of temper, or harshness of manner or expression, which could occasion pain or uneasiness to his family and attendants. I declare, that, during the whole period of my attendance upon King George the Third, not one sharp word, not one expression of unkindness or impatience, escaped his Majesty; and the change of deportment in this respect conveyed, to me at least, the first intimation of the approach of that calamity, of which I had the misfortune to witness the distressing progress, and the melancholy effects."

"His attention to his religious duties," continues Sir Herbert, "was exemplary; and the unaffected and unostentatious character of it offered ample proof of the sincerity of his devotion."

CHAPTER XII.

Illness of the Princess Amelia and Distress of the King — Return of His Mental Disorder — His Last Appearance in Society — The Prince of Wales at Windsor — Death of the Princess Amelia — Its Effect upon the King — Restricted Regency of the Prince of Wales — He Retains His Father's Ministers in Power — The King's Affecting Tribute to the Princess Amelia's Memory.

THE story of George the Third, during the remaining period that he continued to be master of his actions and thoughts, is drawing toward its melancholy close. In the autumn of 1810, the painful and lingering illness of his beloved daughter, the Princess Amelia, and the agony with which he contemplated her approaching dissolution, completely bowed him to the earth. The king himself told her, not long before her death, that he felt as if his reason would sink beneath the weight of his sorrow. He trusted, he said, that God would give him strength to go through the trial.

The princess endured her sufferings with touching sweetness and resignation. "Day by day," writes one who tended her in her sick-chamber, "she sank more and more under her great suffer-

ings. Though pale and emaciated, she still retained her beauty. She wished to live, but was thoroughly resigned when she found there was no hope of her remaining long upon earth. Her sentiments of piety were pure, enlightened, and fervent. I saw her a few days before her death, when, taking off her glove, she showed me her hand. It was perfectly transparent. She was particularly fond of music, but latterly could not bear the sound of a pianoforte, even in another room. The Princess Augusta thereupon gave her a bird which sang very sweetly, and with a very soft note, and she took pleasure in listening to it." On the last occasion on which the king was led to her sick-chamber, she affected him deeply by placing on one of his fingers a ring containing a small lock of her hair, with the words engraved upon it, "Remember me." When the blind monarch bent, for the last time, over his dying child, her parting words to him were, "Remember me, but do not grieve for me."

On Wednesday, the 24th of October, the king's excited manner, and loud and rapid utterance, seem to have given the first warning of a return of the same dreadful mental malady which had afflicted him on former deplorable occasions. Two days afterward, we find Lord Grenville writing to his brother, the Marquis of Buckingham: "I have this day received, as a mark of friendship, and with liberty to communicate to you alone, the information that the king's former indisposition

is returning upon him. You may guess from whom I heard it. The person who mentioned it to me, by desire of the other, tells me that he himself met the king in his ride yesterday, talking so loud and fast as to be remarked at a considerable distance."[1] Nevertheless, in the evening, the king was able to join a party which the queen had assembled at the castle; all his children, with the exception of the Queen of Wurtemberg and the Princess Amelia, being present. It was the anniversary of his accession, as well as the last occasion on which he ever made his appearance in society. When he entered the drawing-room, it was with the queen holding his arm. "As he went around the circle as usual," writes Miss Knight, who was one of the guests, "it was easy to perceive the dreadful excitement in his countenance. As he could not distinguish persons, it was the custom to speak to him as he approached, that he might recognise by the voice whom he was about to address. I forget what it was I said to

[1] The "person" alluded to was no doubt Mr. W. H. Fremantle, who resided at Englefield Green, in the immediate neighbourhood of Windsor Castle. His letters to the house of Grenville contain, for some time after this date, very painful details respecting the progress of the king's disorder, which he seems to have been singularly industrious in collecting from day to day. "I cannot leave this neighbourhood," he writes to Lord Buckingham, on the 7th of November, "as I am daily in the habit of going over to Windsor, and giving the information which I pick up. I have not yet been to-day, but when I return you shall have the true state by the post."

him, but shall ever remember what he said to me. 'You are not uneasy, I am sure, about Amelia. You are not to be deceived, but you know that she is in no danger.' At the same time, he squeezed my hand with such force that I could scarcely help crying out. The queen, however, dragged him away. When tea was served, I perceived how much alarmed I had been, for my hand shook so that I could hardly hold the cup. When the king was seated, he called to him each of his sons separately, and said things to them equally sublime and instructive, but very unlike what he would have said before so many people had he been conscious of the circumstance. I never did and never will repeat what I then heard, and I sincerely believe that all present felt as I did on that occasion. His Majesty had a long conversation with Count Munster on the affairs of Hanover, so that it could only be understood by those who were acquainted with the German language."

During the three following days, the worst fears which could be entertained by the royal family became realised. On Monday, the 29th, the lord chancellor and the prime minister proceeded to Windsor, where, at the pressing instance of the royal physicians, a distressing interview took place between Perceval and his afflicted sovereign. On the return of the former to London, it was his report to the Speaker of the House of Commons, that though the king's conversation had

been neither "unconnected nor irrational," yet it had been so hurried, and so different from his ordinary manner, as to satisfy him that, for the present at least, he was not in a competent state to discharge his kingly duties. Yet, agitated as he was, not only was his manner to his minister most affectionate, but, instead of dwelling on his own afflicted condition, he turned the conversation to the subject of Perceval's family, of the different members of which he spoke in language of kind and flattering regard. By the physicians it was mentioned to the chancellor and prime minister, as a remarkable incident, that, all-absorbing as had been the interest taken by the king in the illness and sufferings of the Princess Amelia, and fatal as was the effect which they had produced on his mind, yet he no sooner became a prey to insanity than her name ceased to pass his lips. Some time afterward, when he was at length led to speak of his beloved daughter, it was under the happy delusion that she was in Hanover, not only alive and well, but endowed with the gifts of perpetual youth and health.

Up to this time the queen had succeeded in keeping all knowledge of the true state of the king's health a profound secret from the public. Parliament, however, was appointed to reassemble on the 1st of November, when — unless prorogued in the meantime — the king's illness must unavoidably become a topic of dis-

cussion. Accordingly, on the morning of the 1st, the lord chancellor proceeded to Windsor, in hopes of finding the king well enough to sign the necessary commission for a prorogation, but, to his great distress, he was informed that on the preceding day his Majesty had been violently ill. Though tolerably composed when the chancellor saw him, so irrational was his discourse during their interview, that the latter, on quitting the royal presence, was observed to throw up his hands despondingly, as if in painful anticipation of the worst. Under these circumstances, the chancellor, in the upper House, and Perceval, in the lower, induced the two Houses to adjourn till the 15th, by which time it was hoped that the king would be sufficiently recovered to enable him to discharge his kingly duties. In the lower House some touching allusions were made by Perceval to the causes of his sovereign's malady. "If anything," he said, "could more sensibly increase those feelings of affection, and diminish those of affliction, which are at this moment felt by his Majesty's people, it is the knowledge that his disorder has originated from his constant and unremitting anxiety and attention, during the painful and protracted sufferings of a dearly beloved child." To the same affecting cause the physicians, one and all, attributed his malady. "He reaped not in this world," writes Sir Walter Scott, "the reward of his firmness, his virtue, his endur-

ing patriotism; but was stricken with mental alienation while he wept, broken-hearted, over the bed of a beloved and amiable daughter."

It was a painful feature of the king's disorder that his mind persisted in dwelling on the details of the mental ailments which had prostrated him on former occasions. On the day on which the chancellor visited him, the king was overheard holding a conversation with himself, the subject being the several causes of each of those ailments. "This," he said, speaking of his present malady, "was occasioned by poor Amelia."

Two days before the dissolution of the Princess Amelia, the following court scene was presented at Windsor: "The latter part of this month" [October], writes Colonel Willis, "the king again began to show marks of mental derangement. The physicians issued their usual bulletins. The immediate cause was imputed to the extreme grief he felt for the situation of the Princess Amelia, who then lay on the point of death. On the 31st October I received a note from Colonel McMahon, signifying the Prince of Wales's commands to see me at Windsor. I went the next day; was kindly received by the prince, who saw me as soon as I arrived, and informed me the cause of his sending for me was to make some arrangements about wine for the queen at Frogmore. He then entered into the king's situation; said that he was quite as ill as ever; that the ministers — that is, the lord

chancellor and Lord Wellesley — had called him out of bed in the morning to state his Majesty's condition to him; adding emphatically, 'These are times that require the entire vigour of government, while its whole vigour cannot be exerted, and you must see that the present state of things cannot add to the strength of the present ministry.' He continued, 'I am going to dine with the queen. You will stay and dine with Tyrwhitt. When I return, we shall spend a comfortable evening together.'

"About eight o'clock the prince returned, and on coming into the room said, 'The Duke of Cumberland will sit the evening with us, but remember, though we are on terms of civility together, you are not to suppose there exists any cordial union between us.' Soon after, the duke entered. His reception of me was rather dry and distant, — I conceive because he thought I took part with Stephenson. We sat till twelve o'clock; the prince very familiar; seemed suspicious of the designs of the ministers; talked on a variety of subjects; among other things mimicked Grattan, the Irish orator, in a manner that would not have disgraced Foote, the actor.

"The Duke of Cumberland's behaviour and conversation, the whole evening, was of a nature, as to coarseness, as would have disgraced one of his grooms. About ten o'clock, a messenger brought a letter from Mr. Perceval, stating what

had been done in Parliament and with respect to adjournment. The prince seemed pleased with the attention. We parted about twelve. I breakfasted next morning with Tyrwhitt, and returned to town perfectly satisfied with my reception. The Princess Amelia died the same day, November 2d, — Duke of Kent's birthday. Before I left Windsor, I called on Mrs. Egerton, whose heart seemed bleeding for the calamitous state of the royal family. She repeated, with great earnestness, an expression of the king's, immediately before his illness, that the feelings uppermost in his heart were love for his people and his children." [1]

The Princess Amelia, at the time of her decease, was only in her twenty-eighth year. "Two days afterward," Miss Knight writes, "Princess Augusta sent for me, and as I was sitting with her, one of her dressers entered the room with a bird-cage in her hand and her fingers in her eyes. 'Princess Amelia,' she said, 'gave orders before her death that this bird should be returned to your Royal Highness, but not on the day she died, nor the day after, that it might not afflict you too much in the first hours of your grief; but she wished you to know how much she was obliged to

[1] "I knew Colonel Willis very well," writes one of his contemporaries to the author. "I had much to do with him when I was gentleman of the ewry, when he was at the head of the Board of Green Cloth. He was a charming, excellent man."

you for giving it to her, and what a comfort its sweet voice had been.'"[1]

Although, for some days after the death of the Princess Amelia, the king was in a most distressing state of mental derangement, it was, happily, without manifesting any extraordinary emotion that he received the intelligence of her dissolution. The sad event was communicated to the king by Sir Henry Halford. "Halford," writes Plumer Ward, "took an opportunity to say 'he was going to try his Majesty's piety.' He immediately answered he knew what he meant, and that Amelia, he supposed, was dead. Halford replied it was so; upon which the king went off in a low, rambling way, which lasted some time, when he became more composed and mentioned her again, saying, 'Poor girl!'"

On Sunday, the 11th of November, the king was not only better, but well enough to be able to receive a visit from the lord chancellor. Of his physicians he inquired how long he had been ill, and, on receiving their answer, intimated that he had no recollection of the time. This, he said, had been the fourth blank in his life; at the same

[1] This charming princess seems to be almost idolised by the different members of her family. Three years afterward we find the Prince of Wales deeply affected by the mere mention of his sister's name. "He burst into tears," writes Miss Knight, "when I mentioned Princess Amelia, and regretted he could not more fully comply with her last wishes; seemed embarrassed, and excessively overcome."

time enumerating his three former illnesses and the length of time they had lasted. He then asked whether his daughter's funeral had taken place, and being informed in the negative, he referred to certain instructions, which, in an earlier stage of his illness, he had given on the subject, desiring that, unless the princess had left contrary directions in her will, they should be strictly carried into execution. For her burial anthem the king selected the concluding verse of the sixteenth psalm: "Thou shalt show me the path of life. In thy presence is the fullness of joy, and in thy right hand is pleasure for evermore." At the funeral, which took place in St. George's Chapel at Windsor on the 14th, all the ministers of state, agreeably with the king's wishes, took part in the ceremony.

On the 15th, it was intimated by Perceval to the House of Commons that he had been that day at Windsor, in communication with the royal physicians, whose opinion it was that his Majesty's health was, happily, in a state of progressive improvement. Accordingly, under these circumstances, he proposed and carried the question of a further adjournment of the House. This more cheerful aspect of affairs, however, was unfortunately counteracted by the king's overzeal in what he regarded as a religious discharge of his duties. Perceval had not long quitted Windsor when the king insisted upon entering upon a most

painful investigation of the services and claims of the attendants of his late daughter. Agreeably with his directions, a particular drawer in his private cabinet was opened, in which, as he had indicated, were discovered certain packages, containing the donations which he desired those persons to accept, and on which was duly registered the names of each. The king had, at first, been perfectly collected while engaged in this melancholy occupation, but toward its close was overcome and apparently quite worn out. "In going through the details of each person's case," writes the Speaker, "and directing where to find the papers and particulars of each, he had shown surprising accuracy; but toward the end puzzled himself, and left off by his own choice, and had the newspaper read to him before he went to bed."

Nevertheless, notwithstanding this incident occasioned a partial relapse, the king in a day or two made up for the ground which he had lost. "Let us rejoice together," writes the Princess of Wales to Miss Berry, on the 26th of November, "at the happy prospect of our beloved monarch's recovery. We may now trust that that storm which passed over our heads will be dispersed for a number and number of years." When, on the 28th and 29th, the royal physicians were examined before the Privy Council, they gave it as their opinion that though his Majesty was at present incapacitated from attending to business, the

chances of his eventual restoration to health, both of mind and body, were in his favour. "Those examined," writes Rose, who was present, "were Doctor Reynolds, Sir Henry Halford, Doctor Heberden, and Doctor Willis. The impression on my mind was, that there was no doubt entertained by any one of them of the king's recovery; but neither of them could speak as to any probable time." Doctor Baillie, who was not examined till the second day, gave the same confident opinion; nor, from this time till the close of the year, do the physicians seem to have discovered any grounds for departing from their convictions.

The year 1811 commenced, as far as related to the state of the king's health, in as satisfactory a manner as the preceding year had closed. Not only was his bodily health almost completely restored, but with the exception of one or two delusions, not in themselves of an afflictive character, the king's mind had recovered its reasoning faculties. "His Majesty," writes Rose, on the authority of Lord Bathurst, "is quiet, and on all points, except two, is rational; but on those his impression does not vary. One is that he is Elector of Hanover; the other was not mentioned to me."

The "other" delusion, referred to by Rose, was of a somewhat extraordinary, as well as romantic character. During some period of his youth the

king had conceived a passionate admiration for a lady of spotless virtue and stately loveliness, Elizabeth, Countess of Pembroke.[1] Horace Walpole, speaking of her walking at the head of the countesses at the coronation of George the Third, describes her as "the picture of majestic modesty." Whether the king had ever permitted his passion to come to her knowledge, there seem to be no means of ascertaining. At all events, the deep impression which her youthful loveliness had formerly made upon him remained indelible in his memory. During his former mental malady in 1789, — notwithstanding twenty-seven years had elapsed since her youthful beauty had called forth the happy encomium of Walpole, — her form had been ever present to the king's imagination, and her name ever escaping from his lips. Since then, a period of twenty-two more years had passed away ; yet in 1811 her form again haunted his imagination as vividly as it had done in 1789. The same sickly fantasy, which had conjured up in his mind the vision of his dead daughter in the enjoyment of everlasting health and youth, not only presented to him the idol of the past, peerless in all the bloom and beauty of former days, but he was

[1] Lady Elizabeth Spencer, daughter of Charles, second Duke of Marlborough, and great-granddaughter of the first and illustrious duke, was born on the 29th of December, 1737, and on the 12th of March, 1756, became the wife of Henry, tenth Earl of Pembroke. She was for many years a lady of the bedchamber to Queen Charlotte.

heard pathetically addressing her by her maiden name, and beseeching her to grant him the interviews for which he had probably sighed in boyhood. On this second occasion, the illusion appears to have haunted him for a longer period than during his former derangement, and very possibly was dispelled only by death.[1]

Fortunately, in the dearth of other occupations, the king was able to entertain himself with playing on the pianoforte, besides taking a pleasure in listening to such accounts as were brought him, from time to time, of what was passing in the gay and busy world in which he had ceased to mingle. On the 17th of January, for instance, we find him taking much interest in the will of the wealthy and dissolute old Duke of Queensberry, who had died the preceding month; this being the day, we may mention, on which the king was, for the first time, allowed to resume his favourite walks on the terrace at Windsor. As had happened after his

[1] A correspondent of the Marquis of Buckingham writes to him, in the month of March, 1811: "The news from Windsor this morning is that the king has had a good night, and is quite calm. I am now told that he was affected solely by one of those 'delusions' to which he is so subject. Your lordship well knows the nature of those 'delusions.' Suffice it that within these eight and forty hours he said to the Duke of Sussex, 'Is it not a strange thing, Adolphus, that they still refuse to let me go to Lady Pembroke, although every one knows I am married to her? But what is worst of all is, that infamous scoundrel Halford [Sir Henry] was by at the marriage, and has now the effrontery to deny it to my face.'"

former illnesses, the open air had the effect of producing a considerable amount of irritability and excitement, during the continuance of which he talked, as he had done at the time of his former convalescence in 1789, in Latin. The next day, having been allowed to repeat his airing on the terrace, he expressed a desire to walk on a particular part of it, which he named, in order, he said, that his subjects might have ocular evidence that he was alive.

On the 26th, Lord Eldon and Perceval proceeded, according to appointment, to Windsor, where they had an audience with the king, which lasted for an hour and a half. Besides the king's mind being in a much more healthy state, the two statesmen learned to their great satisfaction that his sight had been partially restored to him. "He could distinguish their features," writes the Speaker; "Lord Eldon's features immediately, and Perceval's after some time and more effort. He talked of his family and of foreign operations, but did not touch upon the state of his government at home." Of the Princess Amelia the king spoke with great feeling, but with perfect composure. "I saw the king on Saturday," writes Lord Eldon to Sir William Scott, "for much more than an hour. He is not well, and I fear he requires time. In the midst of this state, it is impossible to conceive how right, how pious, how religious, how everything that he should

be, he is, with the distressing aberrations I allude to."

On the 29th, Perceval was admitted to another audience with the king, during which he detailed to him all that had passed in Parliament and in political circles, from the commencement of his illness. The king listened to him with great composure. He was satisfied, he told Perceval, that everything had been done for the best. When informed that, in the opinion of his physicians, he was still scarcely sufficiently recovered to be troubled with public business, he merely observed that they were the best judges, and that he should conform himself to their advice. At his time of life, he said, it was necessary for him to think of retirement. Not, he added, that he could ever part with the name of "king," for king he must still continue; but the *otium cum dignitate* was the most suitable to his age. When Perceval intimated to him that a due discharge of his kingly duties was required of him by his religious obligations, he listened to him with some slight impatience. "If I am wanted," he said, "I shall always be at hand to come forward." Throughout their long interview, said Perceval, there was perceptible a most marked improvement in the king's mind and manner since he had last conversed with him.

In the meantime, ministers had introduced a bill into Parliament, constituting the Prince of Wales regent of the realm, under certain restrict-

ive provisions, which were to cease at the end of a year. The charge and care of the king's person, and the disposition of the royal household, were, very properly, to be vested in the queen. By the provisions of the act, the prince was disqualified from granting peerages, except for naval and military services, as well as from awarding pensions or places for life. It was the anxious wish of Perceval, as it had formerly been the anxious wish of Pitt under similar painful circumstances, that the afflicted king, in the event of his recovery, should miss none of the comforts to which he had been accustomed, nor any of the faces with which he was familiar; but, on the contrary, that he should find his affairs, private as well as public, as little disarranged as possible. The Whigs, however, had been far too long excluded from power and place not to fret at the important restrictions which Perceval meditated laying upon the prince, and more especially at the proposed endowment of the queen with the patronage of the royal household; conferring, as it did, on those having the dispensation of it, a formidable amount of political power. As for the prince, he regarded, or affected to regard, the selection of the queen as a personal affront put upon himself. He had expected, he said, to be treated as a gentleman, and not like a ruffian. Without an exception, as will be seen by the following protest, the princes of the blood sided with the heir to the throne:

To The Right Hon. Spencer Perceval.

"CARLTON HOUSE, 19th Dec., 1810,
12 o'clock P. M.

"The Prince of Wales having assembled the whole of the male branches of the royal family, and having communicated to us the plan intended to be proposed by his Majesty's confidential servants to the Lords and Commons for the establishment of a restricted regency, should the continuance of his Majesty's ever-to-be-lamented illness render it necessary, we feel it a duty we owe to his Majesty, our country, and ourselves, to enter our solemn protest against measures that we consider as perfectly unconstitutional, as they are contrary to, and subversive of, the principles that seated our family upon the throne of these realms.

"FREDERICK (Duke of York).
"WILLIAM (Duke of Clarence).
"EDWARD (Duke of Kent).
"ERNEST (Duke of Cumberland).
"AUGUSTUS FREDERICK (Duke of Sussex).
"ADOLPHUS FREDERICK (Duke of Cambridge).
"WILLIAM FREDERICK (Duke of Gloucester)."

"The offence and disgust," writes Rose, "which this occasioned, to the country gentlemen in particular, was beyond everything I ever remember. Many spoke to me of it in terms of the strongest disapprobation, mixed with great resentment."

"And then," writes Hatsell to Lord Auckland, "the Dukes of Clarence and Sussex voting and speaking on a question in which their father's domestic comforts were so intimately connected! It is a discouraging prelude to future scenes."

That the prince's first exercise of his new authority, on the Regency Bill receiving the king's assent, would be the dismissal of the present ministers, no one for a moment could well doubt. The prince, indeed, had already proceeded to such lengths as to send for Lords Grenville and Grey, whom he had instructed to take preliminary steps for forming a new administration, of which the former nobleman was to have been at the head.

Lord Moira, who was to have been Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, had not only nominated the members of his staff, but had informed them of the day on which they were to be prepared to set off for Dublin. In like manner, Lord Temple had written to his friends in Buckinghamshire, naming the day on which he intended to commence his personal canvass of the county.

Such was the state of affairs, when, on the 31st of January, Lords Eldon and Liverpool were, at their own desire, admitted into the king's presence for the purpose of apprising him of the course of public events. Already, two days previously, Perceval had broken to him the fact that a regency bill was in the course of being framed; and

consequently the two lords found him not unprepared to converse with them on the painful subject. That the king's manner was hurried, they were compelled to admit; but, on the other hand, his conversation betrayed neither derangement nor delusion. Was it his son's intention, he inquired, to change his ministers? Being informed by the two lords that, to the best of their knowledge, such was the prince's determination, he intimated that on his resuming the sovereign authority he should reinstate them. It was his wish, however, he added, not to be "brought forward" too soon.

In the meantime, an extraordinary and most unexpected change had been wrought in the intentions of the Prince of Wales. "The prince," writes Plumer Ward, on the 3d of February, "has, it seems, turned short around upon his friends, who seem confounded." The feelings of Lords Grenville and Grey may be readily imagined, when suddenly it was intimated to them that the prince no longer entertained any intention of discarding his father's ministers. "What most offended them," writes Mr. Ward, "was the manner in which the prince announced his resolution. They were in the very act of forming the administration, filling offices, etc., when Adam came in from the prince. They said they could not be disturbed. He said he must disturb them, for he had a message from the prince. They replied that it was

for the prince they were at work, for they were making the government. Adam told them to spare all trouble, for no government was to be made. This was on Friday, the 1st, in the evening; and what affronted them was, that after having had such a task committed to them, the prince should have presumed to take a counter-resolution by himself, without first consulting them. "To be sure," writes Lord Grenville to Lord Auckland, "if the prince had known his mind a little sooner, it might have saved us some toil and trouble." In the words of Lord Selkirk, the prince had "ratted." Out of doors, as might be expected, the news created an extraordinary sensation. "Shoals of public men of all parties," writes Mr. Ward, "beset the palace, where a thousand inquiries were making after the king; and the whole of Pall Mall was crowded with knots of opposition who had either been, or were conferring with those who had been, at Carlton House. The result is that they are all in very bad humour." "In the streets," writes the same authority, "it was not unpleasing to see the effect of all this, where crowds of all ranks were expressing their satisfaction that the ministry was not to be changed." "It was a touchstone," said Perceval to Ward, "of the people's love for the king."

On the 3d of February, two days before the Regency Bill received the royal assent, the prince

addressed a communication to Perceval, in which he formally announced his design of retaining the present ministers in power. The change in his Royal Highness's sentiments was assigned at the time to a variety of causes, of which the reason which the prince himself gave to Perceval would really seem to have been the truth. "He dreaded," are his words, "lest any act of the regent might have the effect of interfering with the progress of his sovereign's disorder." For some time past, it seems that not only the queen, but Sir Henry Halford, as the king's medical attendant, had been endeavouring to convince him how probable it was that the dismissal of the present administration might produce a fatal effect upon the king's reason, if not his life, and in that case, how terrible would be his reflections to the end of his days. Another argument which they had at hand lay in the painful fact that the royal physicians, in their evidence before the Privy Council, in 1804, had attributed the king's insanity in that year to the great mental distress which the publication of his private letters by the prince had occasioned him. True it is, that this remarkable fact was suppressed in the printed medical evidence which was laid upon the table of the House of Commons; but even though it may have been concealed from the prince at the time, it must have been known to the queen and Sir Henry Halford, who would assuredly not have hesitated to avail themselves of it on the present occasion.

"My real opinion is," writes Lord Eldon, "that to whatever motive the prince's friends or foes may in their conjectures ascribe his late conduct, he would never forgive himself if he suffered him to awake to a scene in which the father should see his servants discarded by his son." The same creditable motives are attributed to the prince by a contemporary lady of whose interesting court reminiscences we have often availed ourselves. "The private motives of the regent are not, perhaps, so well known as they should be, since they do him honour. He had asked the medical attendants of his father whether, in their opinion, it was possible for the king to recover his faculties, and again take the direction of the government. They answered that, although not probable, it was still quite possible. 'Then,' said he, 'I will not remove my father's old advisers, the Tories, to make room for my friends, the Whigs, as my ministers; for, should my father recover, he will justly think that I am prematurely anxious to be king.' The king's physicians, Sir Henry Halford and Doctor Baillie, both of whom attended my father in 1822, assured me of the truth of this anecdote." Willing, however, as we may be to award the prince full credit for his conduct on this occasion, it affords, notwithstanding, but little excuse for his subsequent barefaced abandonment of his Whig friends and Whig principles, when — owing to his father's derangement having become confirmed and permanent — he ceased any

longer to have the pretext of being actuated by filial deference and affection.

The Queen to Lord Chancellor Eldon.

"WINDSOR, Feb. 6, 1811.

"The queen cannot refrain returning thanks to the lord chancellor for the pleasing account which his note conveyed to her of his Majesty's improvement since Friday last, and she feels happy to add that the account this morning received from Doctor Baillie continues to increase our hopes still stronger for a complete recovery. The queen had a visit from the Prince of Wales soon after the lord chancellor had left Windsor. He brought a copy of the letter addressed to Mr. Perceval, containing his intention of retaining his Majesty's present ministers; a step which, independent of the credit it is to the prince, gave the most heartfelt pleasure to herself. She cannot help lamenting that upon such a melancholy business — which is now finished, and in which the lord chancellor has given such strong proofs of zeal and affection for his sovereign and country — his feelings should have been put to such severe trials; but his own conscience, and the king's good opinion, must be his chief support. As to herself, she will always remember with gratitude the lord chancellor's attention shown her upon this melancholy occasion.

"CHARLOTTE."

On the 5th of February the lord chancellor laid the Regency Bill before the king, who signified his assent to it with a melancholy pleasantry. It was not more agreeable to him, he said, to be turned out of office than it was to other persons. He added, however, that his physicians and his ministers were alike agreed that repose was necessary for him, and that he placed implicit confidence in their judgment.

On the following day the Prince of Wales, supported by his six brothers, took the required oaths at Carlton House as regent. It seems to have been with no very good grace that he set about his new duties, inasmuch as it was not till he had kept the privy councillors, ninety-two in number, waiting for nearly an hour and a half, that he made his appearance in the council-chamber. His speech from the throne, that day, was delivered by commission. He had no intention, he said, of exhibiting himself as a pageant during the illness of his father.

On the 8th of February, the king, for the first time since the commencement of his illness, was afforded the gratification of embracing two of the persons whom he most tenderly loved, the queen and the Princess Augusta. Happily, the meeting not only passed off without occasioning him any extraordinary discomposure, but, on the 20th, we find it reported on good authority that he is "advancing fast to perfect recovery."

Rich as Windsor is in interesting local associations, there is, perhaps, no object within its precincts which awakens more touching reflections than a simple mural monument, which may be seen in the cloisters opposite to the royal tomb house, on which George the Third has recorded his gratitude for the tender services of an affectionate female attendant, who not only tenderly watched over his beloved daughter, the Princess Amelia, during her last illness, but who is said to have so deeply taken to heart the sufferings and death of her amiable mistress, that she shortly afterward followed her to the grave. The inscription is said to have been composed by the afflicted monarch himself.[1] By the king's commands, the body of Mary Gascoin was interred as near as possible to the royal vault, in which lay the remains of his lamented daughter.

[1] KING GEORGE III.
Caused to be interred near this place
The Body of MARY GASCOIN,
Servant to the late Princess Amelia;
And this Tablet
To be erected in Testimony of his grateful
Sense
Of the faithful service and attachment
Of an amiable young woman to his beloved
Daughter,
Whom she survived only three months.
She died the 18th of February, 1811,
Aged 31 years.

CHAPTER XIII.

The King's Continued Derangement — Letters from the Duke of York on the Subject — His Last Appearance in Public — Pleasure Taken by Him in Affording Gratification to Others — Anecdotes of Him during His Insanity — Supported by Religion — Conduct of Queen Charlotte during the Period of Her Husband's Prostration — Her Death — Death of the King — His Funeral.

For many months from this time the king's health remained in a fluctuating state; his symptoms sometimes raising the hopes of the physicians, and gladdening the hearts of those who loved and venerated him, and at other times occasioning his family the deepest depression and alarm. He was so much better, however, by the middle of April, that the following month was named as the probable period of his resuming the royal functions, preparatory to which event the keys of the private cabinet which contained his papers were returned to him, with the intimation that Sir Herbert Taylor was ready to resume his duties as private secretary whenever his Majesty might think proper to command his services. Unhappily, in the present feeble condition of his nervous system, the exam-

ination of his papers proved much too exciting an occupation. "Met Lord Camden,"[1] writes the Speaker, on the 26th of April, "who told me the king had not been so well for the last two or three days, owing, it was conceived, to some agitation from the receipt of the keys of his private drawers, which had been redelivered to him." He had not only preserved — as, previously to his illness, he told Perceval — every political paper that had come into his possession since the commencement of his reign, but he had so far arranged them, that he could lay his hands upon any document which he had received since Mr. Pitt's first accession to the premiership, and was then hard at work in arranging the remainder.

The Duke of York to Lord Eldon.

"STABLE YARD, April 21, 1811.

"MY DEAR LORD: — The visit to his Majesty yesterday afternoon went off, upon the whole, better than I could have ventured to flatter myself from what had passed during the walk in the morning. His Majesty received back the keys from the queen with much self-command, but when her Majesty told him that Colonel Taylor would be ready to attend his orders whenever he chose to send for

[1] John Jeffreys, first Marquis Camden, succeeded his illustrious father in the earldom in April, 1794, and died in October, 1840.

him, he appeared much overcome. He however soon recovered himself, and began, in rather a quick and loud tone of voice, to talk upon the subject of the new intended Order. After a certain time he became quieter, and though the transitions from one subject to another were quick and sudden, yet we left his Majesty certainly less elated than could have been expected.

"The reception of Colonel Taylor, I understand, was very proper, with great kindness, but composure. He dismissed him at the end of half an hour, and then began to unlock and rummage all his papers and boxes in a hurried manner, till reminded that it was time for him to go to bed, which he did very quietly, but did not go to sleep immediately, as usual. He had only two hours and a half sleep, at three separate times, and got up soon after five o'clock, when he began immediately again to search among his papers.

"One circumstance I must remark to your lordship, and leave you to make your own comments upon it. In the morning, his Majesty expressed to the Duke of Kent and myself his determination to begin yesterday evening, so soon as he had got his keys back again, the examination of his papers with his servant, young Bott;[1] and he had pre-

[1] John Bott, page in waiting of the back stairs, to which post he had been promoted from the "quality" of page of the bedchamber by warrant from the lord chamberlain's office of the 30th January, 1809.

viously told the Duke of Kent that he was resolved not to trust Colonel Taylor with his private papers. This circumstance we mentioned to the physicians. In the evening he turned to me, and said that he should delay examining his papers till next Tuesday, when he should make young Bott do it, but under the direction of Colonel Taylor. I understand, however, from Sir Henry Halford, that his Majesty was employed the whole of the early part of the morning with young Bott in rummaging his papers, though he had ordered him yesterday to go to town this morning.

"To-day, at eleven o'clock, I attended the queen and my sister Mary, during their visit to the king, and am sorry to say that we all found him, though mild in his manner, yet hurried in his ideas; changing very abruptly his subjects, and full of projects about changes in the houses, arrangements for Weymouth, and plans about his stables. Since which, the Duke of Cambridge walked alone with him, when, I am grieved to add, he states the conversation to have been by no means comfortable. Though mild and less hurried in his manner of expressing himself, his Majesty recurred more than once to his delusions both about Lady Pembroke and Lutheranism.

"Your lordship has now, as briefly as I can give you, a faithful account of what has passed since I saw you yesterday; and upon which I shall make no comments, as I am sure that your sentiments

and feelings must fully agree with mine. I am ever, my dear lord,

"Yours most sincerely,

"FREDERICK.

"*The Lord Chancellor.*"

In the middle of May, the king is described as being materially worse both in body and mind, it being still an unfavourable feature of his disorder that his thoughts continued to brood over the mental derangements of former times. It was in this morbid condition of mind that he applied himself to the mournful task of making a selection from the works of his favourite composer, Handel, of such passages as were descriptive either of madness or blindness, which selection was, at his express desire, communicated through the Duke of Cambridge, performed at the Concert of Ancient Music. Among the passages selected by the king were a representation of madness caused by love, in the opera of "Samson," and the lamentation of Jephthah at the loss of his daughter. The performance is described as having been singularly impressive and affecting; more especially when the striking up of "God Save the King" recalled to the minds of the audience the sorrows and sufferings of the stricken monarch.

It was toward the end of this month that the inhabitants of Windsor for the last time beheld amongst them the familiar kingly form with which,

from their earliest years, nearly one and all of them had been acquainted. "Rumours," writes one of them, who happily still survives, "went forth that the king was better. On Sunday night, the 20th of May, our town [Windsor] was in a fever of excitement at the authorised report that the next day the physicians would allow his Majesty to appear in public. On that Monday morning it was said that his saddle-horse was to be got ready. This truly was no wild rumour. We crowded to the park and the castle yard. The favourite horse was there. The venerable man, blind but steady, was soon in the saddle, as I had often seen him, — a hobby-groom at his side with a leading-rein. He rode through the Little Park to the Great Park. The bells rang. The troops fired a *feu de joie*. The king returned to the castle within an hour. He was never again seen without those walls."

The next account which we discover of the king's state is in the following further letter from the Duke of York:

The Duke of York to Lord Eldon.

"STABLE YARD, May 25, 1811.

"MY DEAR LORD: — At the desire of my brother, the prince regent, I trouble your lordship with this letter, to acquaint you with what has passed during these two last days at Windsor, from whence I am only returned this afternoon.

"Upon my arrival there, yesterday morning, I found his Majesty in the queen's room. He appeared at first very much affected at seeing me, and expressed himself in the kindest and most affectionate manner upon my reappointment to the chief command of the army; but soon flew off from that subject, and then ran on in perfect good humour, but with greatest rapidity, and with little or no connection, upon the most trifling topics; at times hinting at some of the subjects of his delusion, in spite of all our endeavours to change the conversation. This continued the same during his ride, and the whole of the queen's visit in the afternoon; and though, this morning, his Majesty was quieter and less rapid in the change of his ideas, yet the topics of his conversation were equally frivolous.

"I was so much shocked at what I had observed, both on Wednesday and during the different visits of yesterday, that I took an opportunity, when I left his Majesty yesterday evening, to have a conversation with Dr. Robert Willis, who very candidly stated to me his opinion that his Majesty had lost ground this week, and that, though he thought very seriously of the state of his bodily health, he was much more alarmed at the apparent frivolity, or rather imbecility of his mind. He added that something ought to be done; but that in the present state of his Majesty's mind it was in vain to hope that any conversation with him would be at-

tended with any good effect. I then told him that I thought that it behoved his Majesty's physicians to consider his Majesty's case very seriously over, before they met the queen's council this morning, and to be prepared to state to them what measures were most advisable to be adopted, under the present melancholy and alarming circumstances.

"Having mentioned this to her Majesty, she was pleased to order me to be present when she received her council this morning, and to tell them, in her presence, what I had heard, and the state in which I had found his Majesty; which I did not fail to do, as well as the conversation I had had with Doctor Willis; and, from what I understand, it is intended to call a meeting of his Majesty's Council to-morrow morning here in town, at which all the physicians, except Mr. Dundas, are summoned to attend, in order to come to some decisive determination. I am ever, my dear lord,

"Yours most sincerely,

"FREDERICK.

"*The Lord Chancellor.*"

It will be seen, by the following extracts from two letters, dated the same day as the Duke of York's letter to the chancellor, that the king, afflicted as he was, still took a pleasure in affording gratification to others.

Lieutenant-General Sir Herbert Taylor to the Right Hon. J. W. Croker.[1]

[WINDSOR,] "May 25, 1811.

"His Majesty honoured me with his commands last night, to assure you how much he is pleased with your attention in the early communication of intelligence, both interesting and pleasing, and to observe that your diligence in this respect reminds him of that which had been shown by one of your predecessors, Mr. Marsden, whose conduct was at all times so satisfactory to his Majesty."

The Same to William Marsden, Esq.

"WINDSOR, May 25, 1811.

"I have been honoured with the king's commands to transmit, for your information, the accompanying extract of a letter which I addressed this morning by his Majesty's order to Mr. Croker; the king being desirous that you should know that he does not forget the attention which has been shown to him by a zealous, meritorious, and attached servant, of whom his Majesty often speaks in terms of great regard."

Unhappily, during the month of July, the king's bodily health not only grew worse, but new delu-

[1] Mr. Croker was at this time first secretary of the admiralty. Mr. Marsden, to whom Sir H. Taylor's second letter is addressed, had ceased to hold the appointment of second secretary since 1804.

sions took possession of his mind. "It is, I believe, certainly true," writes Lord Grenville to Lord Auckland, on the 28th, "that the king has taken, for the last three days, scarcely any food at all, and that, unless a change takes place very shortly in that respect, he cannot survive many days." Nevertheless, during the next fortnight the king's bodily health appears to have greatly improved. "The king, I should suppose," writes Lord Buckinghamshire, on the 13th of August, "is not likely to die soon, but I fear his mental recovery is hardly to be expected." Again, Lord Bulkeley writes to Lord Auckland, on the following day, that though the king's body may "last a great while," yet even the royal family begin to despair for his reason.

In the month of October the prospects of the king's recovery became gloomier than ever. "The report of the physicians," writes Lord Grenville, on the 8th, "is worded as foolishly as ever; but it can leave no ground of hope in the mind of any reasonable man." On the 25th we find the Duke of Kent admitting to Mr. W. H. Fremantle that, during the last fortnight, not only had the king's mental malady been more violent than it had ever previously been, but that so ill did Dr. John Willis think of the king's chances of amendment, that he had given up further attendance at Windsor. At last, in the month of January, 1812, the printed evidence of the royal physicians, as taken before

the several committees of the Houses of Lords and Commons, could have left very little doubt on the mind of the public that the intellects of the venerable monarch were irretrievably and permanently eclipsed. In the month of April following, Lord Eldon mournfully expresses his conviction of the "utter improbability" of his royal master ever recovering his reason.

The eight painful remaining years of the existence of George the Third may be said to have been passed, with rare intervals, in mental and visual darkness. That dismal period was spent within the walls of Windsor Castle, where the king occupied a large and convenient suite of apartments on the ground floor fronting the north terrace; probably the same rooms — looking "toward the fair college of Eton" — which Sir Thomas Herbert, the faithful attendant of Charles the First, informs us that his royal master tenanted during his brief and mournful sojourn at Windsor, on his way from Carisbrooke Castle to the scaffold.

If we except the painful character of George the Third's disorder, the hand of Heaven would seem to have been laid gently and mercifully upon him. His bodily health long continued to be good, and though his mind, as regarded the present, was, generally speaking, a blank, his memory is said to have been singularly retentive of the events of the past, which, ordinarily, he

was able to recall without their occasioning him uneasiness or distress. Happily, religion continued to afford him consolation, and the hopes of a bright eternity to illumine his darkness. Madame D'Arblay, who probably received her information from the queen and princesses, of whom she saw much in the spring of 1813, informs us that so far was the "beloved king" from being afflicted by any imaginary mental distress, that he believed himself to be constantly conversing with angels. Six months afterward, in October, 1813, we find him described as amusing himself with playing the flute; as ordering his own dinner; and as being allowed to receive frequent visits from the queen in the presence of the royal physicians. According to a French contemporary description of the bereaved and "august old man," — "blind, and wearing a long, flowing beard," — another musical instrument upon which he solaced himself by performing, and which he played from memory with "surprising precision," was the violin. The bulletin which was exhibited at St. James's Palace on the 6th of November, 1813, intimates that "his spirits are generally in a comfortable state;" and another bulletin, dated the 4th of December, that he "has passed the last month in tranquillity and comfort." Nevertheless, there appear to have been occasions when he awoke to a keen sense of the great afflictions which had befallen him. One summer

morning — when probably, outside his apartment, all was sunshine and cheerfulness — the Prince of Wales, happening to pay him a visit, found him bitterly lamenting his blindness. Pausing to catch his father's words, the prince overheard him repeating, with pathetic solemnity, the mournful lines which Milton has placed in the mouth of Samson Agonistes:

> "O dark, dark, dark! Amid the blaze of noon
> Irrecoverably dark! Total eclipse
> Without all hope of day!
> O first erected Beam, and Thou, great Word,
> 'Let there be light! and light was over all,'
> Why am I thus bereaved Thy prime decree?"

This mournful scene is said to have so affected the prince, as to compel him to hurry from the apartment in a paroxysm of tears.

During the first three years of the king's seclusion from the world, although the prospects of his ever recovering his reason were "few and far between," yet they were not altogether desperate. In 1814, for instance, — at the interesting period when peace with France induced the allied sovereigns of Europe to visit England, — the hopes of the royal family are said to have been raised to a sanguine pitch by the king's disorder taking so favourable a turn as to enable him to listen to, and comprehend, a relation of the principal political events which had taken place during his illness.

Then it was that, for the first time, he must have heard of the disastrous march of the French to Moscow; of the decisive battle of Leipsic; of the liberation of Germany from the tyranny of Napoleon; of the occupation of Paris by the allies, and of the restoration of the Bourbons to the throne of France. The fact of Hanover having been recovered to the Crown of Great Britain is said to have afforded him particular gratification.

It was during one of these intervals of consciousness, in 1814, that the queen is said to have been accidentally a witness to a most touching scene. Having been apprised that her venerable consort was in a very tranquil and conversable mood, she took the opportunity of paying a visit to his apartment, on entering which she found him seated at the harpsichord, singing a hymn to his own accompaniment. Unhappily, however, the harmony awoke associations which completely overpowered his weakened nerves. Reason, indeed, had reoccupied her throne for a few fleeting seconds, but it was only to arouse him to an agonising sense of his true and terrible condition. Falling upon his knees in that interval, he fervently and pathetically offered up his prayers for his queen, his children, and his people; concluding with an emphatic supplication that either he might be delivered from his present heavy calamity, or else that he might be accorded strength to submit with patience and resignation to the divine will.

This pathetic scene was closed by his bursting into tears, and then relapsing into his former benighted state.

The slender hopes which had been entertained of the king's recovery, in 1814, proved as evanescent as similar rays of hope had proved on former occasions. Instead of growing better he grew worse. Failure of hearing was added to his other afflictions. Thus bowed down by years, and afflicted with deafness, with loss of sight and reason, it would be difficult to conceive a more affecting spectacle, or one more suggestive of the instability of human greatness, than that of the crownless monarch as he appeared in his dreary and stately solitude. Habited in a dressing-gown of violet-coloured velvet, the star of the Order of the Garter affixed to his breast, and the aspect of his sightless eyes rendered doubly affecting from the interest awakened by his long hair and beard of silvery whiteness, the bereaved monarch was to be seen pacing his spacious apartments to and fro; sometimes stopping to accompany himself with his voice on one of the harpsichords, of which there was one in each apartment, and at other times discontinuing his walk to hold conversations with the visionary forms of departed statesmen and lords of the bedchamber. When in one of these conversable moods, he was in the habit of relating anecdotes of himself and of his reign; occasionally interspersing them with sketches

of the characters of one or more of the many remarkable men with whom, during his long existence, he had personally been brought into contact. A quarter of a century had passed away since the death of John, Earl of Sandwich, yet the king, in speaking of his former minister, was still overheard designating him by the earl's once familiar nickname of "Jemmy Twitcher." [1] On such occasions as these, the smitten monarch would seem to have been all cheerfulness and affability.

One remarkable feature in the king's disorder was the fact that he never forgot that he was King of England. Although his manner to his attendants was invariably all kindness and condescension, it was evident that he expected from them all the respect and deference to which he had been accustomed in former days.

Of the healing influence which religion still exercised over the mind of the afflicted monarch, we have an interesting account from the pen of the same accomplished lady to whom we have very recently referred. "I was much struck with the effect of habits of piety, from an instance given by one of the medical attendants of George the Third. Sir David Dundas,[2] who, at that time, was not particularly happy in his own religious

[1] Lord Sandwich died April 30, 1792, at the age of seventy-four.

[2] Of Richmond, Surrey, sergeant-surgeon to the king. Sir David was created a baronet May 22, 1815, and died January 10, 1826.

feelings, said that when irritation about the king commenced in the evening, and which showed itself by incessant talking, a bad night was anticipated, and it was then customary to order, rather earlier than usual, that his chair should be lifted as the signal for his removal into his bedroom; his deafness and blindness making any other mode of communicating with him almost impossible. When removed, he would offer up his prayers, after which it was his custon never to speak till he had again made his supplications in the morning. But when the irritation was so violent that he could not pacify himself, he would cram his pocket-handkerchief into his mouth, till it was bitten through and through. He then generally fell asleep like an infant. Whenever it was reported in the bulletins that his Majesty had passed a disturbed night, the meaning was that the agitation could not be subdued. Thus did habits of piety withstand and temper insanity!"

Not only did religion thus cast its benignant rays over the gloom of mental darkness, but there were moments of pious enthusiasm, when he imagined his apotheosis had taken place, and that he had become the blissful denizen of a brighter and a better world. "If anything," wrote the Princess Elizabeth to a lady who had been her instructress, "can make us more easy under the calamity which it has pleased Heaven to inflict on us, it is the apparent happiness that my revered father seems

to feel. He considers himself no longer an inhabitant of this world; and often, when he has played one of his favourite tunes, observes that he was very fond of it when he was in the world. He speaks of the queen and all his family, and hopes they are doing well now, for he loved them very much when he was with them."

From the afflicted monarch let us revert for a brief while to his devoted and venerable consort, who, as the guardian of the king's person, and as the dispenser of the envied patronage of the royal household, had become invested with an importance which she had never coveted, and much less courted. With the consciousness, ever present to her mind, of her husband's deplorable condition, and with other domestic sorrows to distress her; constrained, moreover, against her will to exchange a life of comparative ease and seclusion for one of publicity, harass, and responsibility, Queen Charlotte nevertheless, during the closing season of her existence, played her part, and bore her troubles, with singular grace and equanimity. Happily for her, she was not only cheered by that same religious hope and confidence which supported her benighted consort, but she also possessed, within herself, refined tastes and intellectual resources, which rendered her independent, alike of the flattery of courtiers, and of the fripperies and profitless amusements of the world. Seldom, she once observed, had she passed a day on which

time had hung heavy on her hands. There were few persons, it is said, of those whom she admitted to terms of intimacy, but envied her her even temper and placid disposition.

In every respect, the conduct of Queen Charlotte, during the regency of her son, seems to have been highly commendable. Irksome to her, at her advanced time of life, as must have been the parade, the bustle, and the pageantry of a court, she nevertheless constrained herself to mingle, as heretofore, in the great and gay world; performing her duties with becoming cheerfulness and exactitude. Aware of the line of conduct which her beloved consort, had his reason been spared, would have expected from her, she gratified his subjects by making her appearance among them; by identifying herself with their pastimes and amusements, and by the encouragement which her frequent hospitalities afforded to trade and home manufactures. Her drawing-rooms at St. James's, her entertainments at Windsor Castle, and her rural fêtes at Frogmore, seem to have been not less frequent than in former days. Unpalatable as were large crowds to the venerable queen, and especially unwelcome to her as must have been a race-course, we nevertheless find her, in 1816, when in her seventy-third year, attending Ascot races with three of her daughters and her niece, the Princess Sophia of Gloucester. Again, the following year, we find her winning the hearts of

the Eton boys by attending their time-honoured Montem, and, the next day, entertaining them with a fête in her gardens at Frogmore.

The most interesting and graphic portrait which we possess of Queen Charlotte, as she appeared in her old age, is from the pen of an American statesman, Mr. Richard Rush, — minister plenipotentiary from the United States in 1818, — who, on the 25th of February in that year, was admitted to an audience with the queen at Buckingham House, for the purpose of delivering up his letter of credence. On entering her apartment, ushered by the master of the ceremonies, he found the queen standing immediately in front of him with two of the princesses, her daughters, one on each side of her. Near them were the ladies in waiting, and in another part of the room was the only other person present, the lord chamberlain. All were in full court dresses. After the customary words of respect and kind wishes had been spoken by the minister, he placed his letter in the queen's hands. "As she took it," he writes, "she said that the sentiments I expressed were very obliging, and entered into conversation. Learning I was from Philadelphia, she asked questions about it, and others about the United States generally; all put in a very kind spirit. The interview lasted about fifteen minutes. As I entered the room," continues the minister, "and during the whole interview, there was a benignity in her manner which, in

union with her age and rank, was both attractive and touching. The tones of her voice had a gentleness, the result in part of years, but full as much of intended suavity to a stranger. The scene, as it first broke upon me, its novelty, its quiet yet impressive stateliness, became almost immediately, by her manner, one of naturalness and ease."

On the following day, the 26th of February, the queen kept her birthday, with the usual state, at Buckingham House. It was the last which she was destined to celebrate. Notwithstanding her age and infirmities, she insisted on presiding personally at the usual drawing-room held on such occasions; cushions having been so prearranged as to spare her, whether sitting or leaning, as much fatigue as possible, during the tedious ceremony.

Once more, before the grave closed upon Queen Charlotte, Mr. Rush was afforded an opportunity of witnessing the venerable lady presiding over her model court. It was on the 7th of April, — on the interesting occasion of the marriage of her gifted daughter, the Princess Elizabeth, with the Hereditary Prince of Hesse Homburg. "We got to the palace," he writes, "at seven o'clock. Pages were on the stairs to conduct us to the rooms. The ceremony took place in the throne-room. Before the throne was an altar covered with crimson velvet. A profusion of golden plate was upon it. There was a salver of great size, on which was represented the Lord's Supper. The company

being assembled, the bridegroom entered with his attendants. Then came the queen, with the bride and royal family. All approached the altar. Her Majesty sat; the rest stood. The marriage service was read by the Archbishop of Canterbury. The Duke of York gave the bride away. The whole was according to the forms of the Church, and performed with great solemnity. A record of the marriage was made. When all was finished, the bride knelt before the queen to receive her blessing. Soon after the service was performed, the bride and bridegroom set off for Windsor. The company remained. The evening passed in high ceremony without excluding social ease. From the members of the royal family the guests had every measure of courtesy. The conduct of the queen was remarkable. This venerable personage, — the head of a large family, her children then clustering about her, the female head of a great empire, — in the seventy-sixth year of her age,[1] went the rounds of the company, speaking to all. There was a kindliness in her manner from which time had struck away useless forms. No one did she omit. Around her neck hung a miniature-portrait of the king. He was absent, scathed by the hand of Heaven; a marriage going on in one of his palaces, he the lonely, suffering tenant of another. But the portrait was a token superior

[1] This is a slight error. Queen Charlotte had not yet entered into her seventy-fourth year.

to a crown. It bespoke the natural glory of wife and mother, eclipsing the artificial glory of queen. For more than fifty years this royal pair had lived together in affection. The scene would have been one of interest anywhere. May it not be noticed on a throne?"

The queen survived the marriage of her daughter little more than seven months. After a long and painful illness, she breathed her last, in the palace of Kew, on the 17th of November, 1818, in the seventy-fifth year of her age. While in the act of smiling on her children who surrounded her easy chair, and while pressing the hand of the prince regent, which she held within her own, she expired without a struggle or even a sigh. "The loss of the queen," writes Sir Herbert Taylor, who was present at her departure, "will indeed be deeply felt by the whole nation, which cannot fail to do justice to her Majesty's virtuous conduct during so long a period passed under manifold trials. But it will be more particularly felt by those whose immediate intercourse with her Majesty, and close attendance, enabled them to appreciate the full extent of those invaluable qualities which did not meet the public eye. Her sufferings for some time past have been very great, and she has borne them with exemplary patience and resignation, such as a strong sense of religion alone could inspire. Much of her time was passed in prayer."

On Wednesday, the 2d of December, the remains of the deceased queen were borne from Kew to Windsor, where they were solemnly interred, the same night, in the royal vault in St. George's Chapel. "The queen, the excellent, exemplary queen," writes her old servant and companion, Madame D'Arblay, "was this day interred in the vault of her royal husband's ancestors; to moulder, like his subjects, bodily into dust, but mentally not so! She will live in the memory of those who knew her best, and be set up as an example even by those who only after death know, or at least acknowledge, her virtues. I heard an admirable sermon on her departure and her character, from Mr. Repton, in St. James's Church. I wept the whole time, as much from gratitude and tenderness to hear her thus appreciated, as from grief at her loss; to me a most heavy one, for she was faithfully, truly, and solidly attached to me, as I to her." [1]

[1] The following stanzas, apostrophising the afflicted monarch on the occasion of the funeral of his consort, are interesting as having been composed, at the time, by one of the students of his favourite school:

"Monarch of England! could thy darkened eye
Pierce the thick gloom of intellectual night,
How would it view this sickening luxury,
This pomp, dull glaring on the aching sight!
But thou art shut from Heaven's own blessed light;
Nor dawns one ray of reason on thy mind.
Oh! who can look upon thy fallen might,

On the death of Queen Charlotte, Parliament consigned the guardianship of the king's person to his favourite son, the Duke of York.

In the meantime, the aged king had remained in the same afflicted state as when last we parted from him in his memorable solitude. Once only, in 1817, he was visited by a few rays of reason, which, however, proved as transitory as on former similar mournful occasions. It was probably at this time, when his sense of hearing is said to have temporarily improved, that, his ear happening to catch the sound of the passing-bell of Windsor Church, he inquired for whom it was tolling. The deceased, he was given to understand, was a person whom he had known, and for whose character he entertained a respect, — the wife of one of his neighbours, a Windsor tradesman. "She was a good woman," he said; "she brought up her family in the fear of God. She

Nor feel how vain the glories of mankind!
King, reckless of thy Crown! to light and reason blind!

"Yet thou art happy! On thine aged ear
Unheeded falls the death-knell of thy Queen;
Thick darkness dwells around thee, but no tear
In thy dim eyeballs glistening e'er is seen;
Unconscious art thou, as they ne'er had been,
Of regal troubles and the cares of State,
Unmarked, beneath thee passed this funeral scene,
The shroud of her, thine own long-cherished mate;
Thou only didst not sigh, when England wept of late."

— *Poetry of the Eton College Magazine.*

has gone to heaven, and I hope I shall soon follow her."

With the departure of these last deceitful gleams of returning reason, the king's mind appears to have become an utter and unimpressible blank. Well, and pathetically, might he have repeated the further grand and mournful lines of Milton:

> "With the year
> Seasons return, but not to me returns
> Day, or the sweet approach of Even or Morn,
> Or sight of vernal bloom, or summer's rose,
> Or flocks, or herds, or human face divine;
> But cloud instead, and ever-during dark
> Surrounds me; from the cheerful ways of men
> Cut off, and, for the Book of knowledge fair,
> Presented with a universal blank
> Of Nature's works, to me expunged and rased."
>
> — *Paradise Lost, Book iii.*

Up to a certain time, the bereaved monarch had been able to distinguish the familiar footsteps of his attendants, but henceforth even this mournful satisfaction was denied to him. He was not only sightless, but became totally deaf. With the outward universe; with its hopes and its cares; with its joys, its aspirations, and its allurements; he was henceforth destined to have no single feeling in common with his fellow men. He had passed for ever from the grand theatre of the world, in the midst of the ceremonies and pomps of which he had once been the observed of all observers. "Mounted high upon his airy throne," he had

become "the king of a fantastic throne;" his "most sovereign reason, like sweet bells jangled, out of tune;" his thoughts "such stuff as dreams are made on." All, as well within him as around him, was silence, darkness, and vacuity. The meanest bird that flitted past the windows of his palace was more "sufficient for itself" than the crowned lord of that proud palatial fortress. The seasons came and went. The sun set and the moon rose. The snow fell. The storm raged. The thunder rolled and the lightning flashed; yet, to the vacant mind and to the vacant eye of that august old man, all was as nothingness.

And, during his long years of seclusion, how many events of importance had taken place, deeply affecting either the interests of his subjects, or the happiness of those whom he loved! Great battles had been won by his armies, but the trophies of victory had been laid at the feet of another. The return of peace had been commemorated by illuminations and festivals, by the roar of artillery and the flourish of trumpets; yet, of the joyfulness which filled the hearts of millions, no gleam had reached his own. Those who were near and dear to him had married or been given in marriage, but at the nuptial banquet his seat had been vacant. Not a strain of the merry joy-bells had reached his ear.

Yet, if Providence had denied to the benighted monarch the ability of sympathising with the joys

of his fellow creatures, its dispensations had not been untempered with mercy. Afflicting, as well as joyful, events had occurred during his disorder, which, had his reason been preserved to him, would probably have bowed him to the dust. Many of those whom he loved — his venerable sister, the Duchess of Brunswick; his beloved and blooming granddaughter, the Princess Charlotte; her infant heir, the hope of millions; his beloved queen; and lastly, his son, the Duke of Kent — had each preceded him to their last home. If it had been denied to him to mingle with the glittering nuptial throng, he had also been spared the spectacle of the mourning weeds and the funeral plume. If no note of the marriage-bell had reached his ear, he had also been deaf to the requiem, the muffled drum, and the minute-gun.

"Thy loved ones fell around thee. Manhood's prime,
Youth with its glory, in its fullness age,
All, at the gates of their eternal clime,
Lay down, and closed their mortal pilgrimage;
The land wore ashes for its perished flowers,
The grave's imperial harvest. Thou, meanwhile,
Didst walk unconscious through the royal towers,
The one that wept not in the tearful isle!
As a tired warrior, on his battle-plain,
Breathes deep in dreams amidst the mourners and the slain."

— *Mrs. Hemans.*

At twelve o'clock on the night of the 29th of January, 1820, the tolling of the great bell of St.

Paul's Cathedral announced to the inhabitants of London that the afflicted monarch, who had ruled over them for sixty years, had ceased to exist. The king had been unwell in the month of November, yet, so late as the 1st of January, the bulletin of the physicians had been far from unsatisfactory. His Majesty, it was intimated, was subjected to some of the infirmities of old age, but his bodily health, during the preceding month, had been generally good. With the new year, however, a painful change took place. A gradual decay began to undermine his vital powers. His appetite entirely failed him. The small quantity of food which he was able to take afforded him no nourishment. It was found almost impossible to infuse warmth into his body. His strength grew feebler and feebler; his frame more and more emaciated.

Yet it was not till two days before his decease, Thursday, the 27th, that the physicians considered his life to be in imminent danger. On the following day, Friday, he was worse, and at night so alarming had become his symptoms that the Duke of York was hurriedly summoned from London to Windsor. At ten o'clock on Saturday morning it was evident that his hour of dissolution was near at hand, and accordingly the royal family was prepared for the worst. Under the same roof with the expiring monarch were his daughters, the Princesses Augusta and Sophia, and the Duchess of Gloucester. In the same apartment with him,

besides the usual attendants, were the Duke of York, Lords Winchelsea and Henley, Sir Herbert Taylor, and all the physicians. Happily, though the royal patient grew weaker and weaker as the day advanced, he was apparently exempt from even the slightest suffering, Happily, too, no ray of returning reason indicated to him the character of the appalling tribulation by which he had been visited. His death took place without a struggle. Nature having by degrees become completely exhausted, at thirty-five minutes past eight o'clock, on the evening of the 29th of January, the venerable monarch ceased to breathe. At the time of his decease, George the Third had attained the age of eighty-one years and nearly eight months.[1]

However unfilial may have been the conduct of the prince regent toward his father in his lifetime, he at least paid him the tribute of lamenting him when dead. Sir William Knighton, who was in attendance upon the new king on the night that he received the announcement of the demise of the Crown, described the "burst of grief" to which he gave vent as being very affecting.

During the king's long estrangement from the world, he had never been forgotten by his subjects. Their sympathies and prayers had been with him

[1] Mr. Charles Knight has pointed out that of the long line of kings who have ruled over England, George the Third was the first who died in Windsor Castle.

in his living tomb, and when he expired they mourned him as a father. On the 12th of March, his daughter, the Princess Elizabeth, writes to Lord Sidmouth from a foreign land: "My adored father's death, and the finding him so valued, respected, mourned, and regretted, has gone most deeply to my heart. For himself, dear angel! the change was undoubtedly a blessed one. He is now at peace and enjoying the just reward of his pious, virtuous, and well-spent life. In laying down his earthly crown, he has received his celestial one, which can never be lost to him. In the hearts of his children and his subjects he will ever live; and may God in his mercy grant that the virtues of both my excellent parents may be our safeguard and examples through life."

No pomp nor pageantry which could do honour to the dead were omitted at the solemnisation of the obsequies of the late king. The ceremony of lying in state took place on Tuesday, the 15th of February. The night of the 16th was appointed for the funeral. As the long array, consisting of the mourners in their sable costumes, of heralds in their gaudy tabards, and princes of the blood in their sad-coloured mantles, moved, by torch-light, from the principal porch of Windsor Castle to St. George's Chapel, it presented a grand and imposing spectacle. The platformed route along which the procession passed was covered with black cloth and lined on each side by soldiers.

The flourish of trumpets, and the sound of the muffled drums, mingling with the peal of the minute-guns and the tolling of the death-bell, added to the solemnity of the scene.

Shortly after nine o'clock, the mournful procession began to move through the southern portal of St. George's Chapel. The body was received by the dean and prebends in their canonicals, and by the choristers in their surplices. Immediately the organ struck up, and the voices of the choir sang the solemn anthem, "I know that my Redeemer liveth." Slowly the procession passed into the beautiful choir of the chapel, where the Duke of York, as chief mourner, took his seat at the head of the coffin. The funeral service was read by the Dean of Windsor, assisted by the Archbishop of Canterbury. The coffin having been lowered into the grave, and the dust thrown upon it, Garter King-at-Arms proclaimed the titles of the deceased. Once more, the volumed tones of the organ pealed along the vaulted roof and through the fretted aisles. The mourners rearranged themselves, and departed nearly in the order in which they came. The solemn ceremony was at an end. The soldiers, who had lined the aisles, extinguished their tapers and retired. Many persons, indeed, lingered to look down on the coffin and its splendid paraphernalia. Soon, however, the last faint note of the organ died away in the distance; the last straggler withdrew through the ancient Gothic

portal; and then the once powerful and flattered monarch was left alone, in a darkness and silence not more awful, perhaps, but even more desolate, than had lately overshadowed him in the neighbouring towers of the Plantagenets.

END OF VOLUME V.

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